

**THE MACLEAN'S POLL**

# Maclean's

JANUARY 5, 1987

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

\$1.75

## A Volatile National Mood

**How Canadians  
Feel About:**

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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE

# Maclean's

JANUARY 6 1987 VOL. 180 NO. 1



## THE MACLEAN'S POLL

The third annual *Maclean's/Dominion* Poll posed 68 questions to 1,500 Canadians in all regions. Their answers, collated and cross-tabulated in more than 500 pages of computer printout, provide a representative outline of the nation's changing opinions, attitudes and practices in subject areas as various as politics and sex, culture and commerce, families, jobs and sports. Reinforced by follow-up interviews with some 75 of the poll respondents, the reports on the results outline a volatile national mood that mingles optimism and uncertainty, idealism and a new pragmatism. —Page 24



COVER ART BY BOB FORD

### POLL

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## Turning the tables

Although some of the respondents to the third annual *Maclean's*/Doornik Poll had agreed to participate in follow-up interviews, many were frankly intimidated when *Maclean's* writers asked them afterward to expand on their opinions. Associate Editor Ann Walmsley recalls one respondent asking, "You really want to know what I think?"

That was precisely what was wanted when Walmsley, along with Staff Writers Ann Fitzgibbon and Storm Allenberg and Assistant Editor John Bennett, interviewed about 35 of the 1,200 poll respondents for the survey of Canadian



Scores and Smiles: gratifying

opinions. What that cross section of Canadians was thinking—about politics, religion and sex, their families, their jobs and their culture—shaped the wide-ranging reports an Canadian attitudes in this New Year issue.

The annual poll report represents, in a sense, a manual of rules. For 52 weeks a year *Maclean's* provides Canadians with news on developments and personalities at home and abroad. But the statistics that work have been provided largely by Canadians to *Maclean's*.

More people participated in the current poll issue, outside and inside *Maclean's*, than in any other issue of this newspaper. Apart from the 1,200 Canadians polled, and the 126 politicians and analysts at Doornik Research Ltd., more than 50 *Maclean's* staff and correspondents were involved in researching, recording, editing, photographing, checking and designing the cover package. Among the key collaborators and providers of the information, in addition to the five staff members who conducted follow-up interviews, Research-Reporter Tom Skarlicki and Senior Designer Kenneth Soons.

But in the end the reports relied on the co-operation and enthusiasm of the many Canadians who answered the poll's 68 questions and who offered elaborations in follow-up interviews. Said Walmsley: "What was gratifying was that so many of the people we interviewed said that for the first time they felt they could influence public policy. Some people said that taking part in the poll was better than voting."

Kevin Doyle

Maclean's January 9, 1987

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Kevin Doyle

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That explains why the whole country gets involved in tourism, opening up their homes to visitors on our country farms and in our cities. New Zealanders all want to welcome our visitors, and share our food, lodging and lifestyles. Good food, good friendship. A great way to get to know our country. Oh, of course we have luxury hotels, and we have motels and condos too. Your dollar's good, worth about \$1.30...downright generous, if you ask us.

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## Santa Rambo

I would like to voice my protest at your Dec 15 cover ("Warfare in Toyland"). Give thought to the fact that your publication goes into the homes of families with young children. The money of a jolly Santa clad in camouflage T-shirt and armed with a machine-gun is just as disturbing as the sight of a soldier. Remember that young ones who do not yet read perceive the world visually and potentially. Imagine the message a child receives from this obviously photographic message, in the spirit of the Christmas season, don't inflict your Rambo-and-Santa upon my children or me.

—MIMI BARON, Ont.

The media have a responsibility to report the news and to keep the public informed, especially about issues such as the proliferation of war-oriented toys aimed at our children. However, you who must take your share of the responsibility in the raising of the next generation of Canadians in the minds of our children, Santa Claus is innocent. It is a sorry day when you can't even have Maclean's boys around.

—RICK MARRIN, Chesham, Ont.

Why all the fuss over Andrea Miller of Vancouver and her active obligation to your cover with a picture of Santa taking a gun? A great number of the top children receive today at Christmas are war toys—guns, machine-guns, tanks, missiles etc. And who brings these toys? Santa, of course! So what is so wrong in having a picture of him with a machine-gun? Some people are shocked. I trust



Children war toys the very least

that some parents are shocked enough to stop making the poor judgment of buying war toys for their children.

—KEV WILLIAM HENDERSON, Luskville, Ont.

The fact that there is divided opinion over the effect of war toys on children does not give Maclean's the right to so casually stifle the green and white symbol of benevolence. Tell us about our pacifist to violence and our materialistic excesses—so appropriate for the season—if you must, but spare us the warlike graphics. Our children deserve better.

—MARY COLE, Ottawa

I have a 20-year-old son, a real Santa fan, and when we saw your Dec. 15 cover many upward comments and I feel the perspective of a character who represents kindness and the spirit of giving with a machine-gun and battle dress objectionable and offensive.

—HELENA MORRIS, Montreal

## Benevolence in legislation

Regarding your article on the passage of the Ontario legislative amendment banning discrimination against homosexuals ("An inflammatory debate," Canada Dec. 15), it is astonishing to me that people who call themselves Christians want to have the right to protect "family values" (Christ, who, incidentally, was not a family man) always resorted to to include the despised and the outcast rather than reinforce the prevalent fears and prejudices of his day. In this instance, it is our legislators and not our religious leaders who are following Christ's example in championing the rights of the oppressed.

—MARK J. KRANTZOFF, Ottawa

**APPOINTED** David Abshire, 60, an special counselor to co-ordinate White House efforts to resolve the Iran arms scandal, by President Ronald Reagan. Abshire, a former US ambassador to NATO, insisted that his role will not conflict with that of White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan.

**APPOINTED** Former national Progressive Conservative leader and Nova Scotia premier Robert Stanfield, 75, as chairman of the Commonwealth Foundation, a 35-year-old organization established to promote cooperation among the 48 Commonwealth countries. Stanfield succeeds Mr. Jeanette Ellis, Dean of Trinidad and Tobago.

**RETURNING** Wheelchair warthammer Rick Hansen, 25, from a blunder infection, in Wawa, Ontario. Hansen had to interrupt his worldwide tour raising money for spinal cord research. He spent Christmas Day in a cabin on Lake Superior with his seven-month-old son, including his physiotherapist and family, Amanda Reid.

**DECEASED** A reduction in sentence for Nova Scotia's Bruce Curtis, 25, which would have made him eligible for indefinite parole, by a U.S. federal magistrate in New York. Curtis was convicted in 1982 of manslaughter and sentenced to 30 years in connection with the shooting of the mother and daughter of his dissident father Franz, who also is serving 30 years after a guilty plea.

**DEED** Montreal artist Kathleen Moir Moir, 61, a founding member of the Beaver Hall Group in the early 1930s and a member of the Royal Canadian Academy. Her paintings, including landscapes of Quebec and eastern Ontario, were part of collections at the National Gallery of Canada, the Art Gallery of Ontario and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts.

**DEED** British-born actress Elsa Lanchester, 84, of bronchial pneumonia, in hospital in Woodland Hills, Calif. The widow of actor Charles Laughton, who died in 1980, Lanchester was best known for her role as the 1935 horror classic *Dracula* of Frankenstein. She played opposite her husband in *Random* (1936) and *The Private Life of Henry VIII* (1933), for which Laughton won an Academy Award.

**DEED** Journalist Ken Munro, 56, of pneumonia, in Ottawa. After 10 years as a reporter with the CBC, the Alberta native worked as an information officer with several Ottawa-based organizations.

## Child care and social change

The letters in response to your May 30 cover story, "Parents, jobs and children," sound like the negative reactions to Sunday shopping, beer in the corner stores, advertising more refugees and co-ordinating basic human rights to jobs. When will these people realize on the fact that our society is changing? The economic state of life today often dictates the use of day care regardless of the wishes of the parents.

—CHRISTOPHER D. BELL, Mississauga, Ont.

## Hiding behind anonymity

In "The start of a new life" (Canada, Dec. 15), you continue to encourage aids in the office of External Affairs Minister Joe Clark making what can only be described an derogatory accusations about Robert Mykityuk, president of the Canadian Ukrainian Immigrant Aid Society. This group has a proven record of providing aid and support to thousands of refugees—Ukrainians, Poles, Jews and others—who have fled the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and resettled in Canada. Our government's record in providing help to such people is, by comparison, rather less helpful. For me, apparently prejudiced aids to the anonymous Robert Mykityuk's activities—hiding all the while behind a convenient cloak of anonymity—is a telling indicator of the quality of advice which apparently informs our government's decision-making process.

—LEONARD LUTCH, Kingston, Ont.

## Responses to the AIDS crisis

Three cheerleaders Barbara Amiel and her courageous column about Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome ("The politics of a killer disease," Dec. 15) has high tone we wish up to our responsibilities in dealing with aids. If we continue to trifle to the bleeding hearts, we justly deserve our reputation as the weakling whims of the Western world.

—THEODORE E. MATTHEW, Kinnaird, Ont.

We all have to live with the fear of contracting AIDS, and we all know it is a terrible disease, but the least we can do is help the ones in need—those who contract it. Barbara Amiel should understand that these victims most already feel apart from our so-called normal society, we don't have to remind them.

—MAURICE BRADSHAW, St. Catharines, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should supply name, address and telephone number. Most correspondence is sent to the Editor, Maclean's Magazine, Attention: Reader Pkg., 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

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A man with a backpack and a dog walking away from a Bell phone booth on a path at sunset.

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# Repairs for an image

**S**ix days before Christmas, Supply and Services Minister Monique Vincent presented a welcome gift to the 1,300 employees of Canadian L&B: the first stage of a contract for maintaining CF-18 jet fighters, which will be worth an estimated \$2.2 billion over the next 30 years. Not during a signing ceremony at Canada's Montreal plant, Vincent added, "Never perhaps in the history of our country has the award of a government contract created as much joy on the one hand and so much disappointment on the other." In reaching its decision, the government ignored the advice of its own review committee, which said that a consortium led by Bristol Aerospace Ltd. of Winnipeg could do a better job for less money. The decision to choose Canadair despite that advice estranged many business and political leaders—particularly in the West. But last week the *Winnipeg Free Press* reported that Bristol will be awarded a \$350-million contract for maintaining CF-5 fighters as a "force-multiplying" gesture to compensate it—and Montreal—for losing the CF-18 job.

However, the controversy appears to have raised concerns among many businessmen over the way in which Ottawa awards contracts. Federal officials acknowledge that since the CF-18 decision they have been approached by businessmen seeking reassurances that their tenders will not be undermined by political interference. "They're looking for assurances that it's not going to happen to them," said Col. Barry Gode, manager of a project to supply the Canadian Forces with heavy trucks. Even some government officials expressed concern about the CF-5 report—which federal spokesmen would not confirm. Canadair built the CF-5 during the 1960s, and it has maintained them ever since. One official said it would be more practical to give Canadair the contract. But, he added, "common sense doesn't seem to prevail around here anymore."

The CF-18 decision has angered some

foreign companies as well. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney defended it by saying that the government preferred Canadian because it is Canadian-owned. Bristol is owned by a British firm. That led Jack Ripley, chairman of Allied-Signal Canada Inc., a subsidiary of a giant U.S. aerospace conglomerate, to write to Mulroney, saying that such an attitude "would discour-

Thomas Niles, the U.S. ambassador to Canada, pressed cabinet ministers for the reopening in order to assist Bombardier's prospective U.S. partner in the truck project—Oshkosh Truck Corp. of Oshkosh, Wis.

In Canada, several major military contracts will be up for tender in the next few years, including one for a \$2-billion helicopter fleet. But because of



CF-18s over northern Germany. Joy on the one hand, disappointment on the other.

ago further investment by foreign shareholders of Canadian companies."

In at least one case, the dispute hardened already-held suspicions about the government's bidding procedures. William Thomas, chairman of Amertek Inc. of Woodstock, Ont., said that he withdrew his company from bidding on the Armed Forces' truck project last fall because he doubted that Ottawa already favored another bidder—Bombardier Inc. of Montreal. Thomas said that the CF-18 contract reinforced his suspicions that Ottawa generally favors Bombardier, which bought Counselor from the federal government in August.

Thomas said that he became concerned about Bombardier's influence last spring after the company persuaded Ottawa to reopen the truck competition to let it submit a bid. Indeed, Mulroney has learned that

the CF-18 controversy, future contracts will likely be closely scrutinized. One influential Quebec Conservative said that the province's portion of the CF-18 award could limit its eligibility for future contracts. "We got the CF-18, but now Mulroney can't give anything to Quebec without provoking a storm," he said. "It was a short-sighted approach."

For her part, Vincent has tried to reassure potential future bidders that the government does not interfere politically in the process. After Thomas pulled Amertek from the truck competition, Vincent urged him to reconsider. In November he re-entered the bidding. "She assured me that there would be no political involvement," said Thomas. But he added, "I tell people that and they laugh at me."

—MARK CLARK in Ottawa with  
BRUCE WALLACE in Montreal

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## Language on trial

The long-winded judgment by the Quebec Court of Appeal was unanimous—and unexpected. In a 71-page opinion last week, the five judges ruled that parts of Quebec's French language charter—popularly known as Bill 101—which requires businesses to post signs in French only are illegal because they violate clauses of both the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Quebec Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms guaranteeing freedom of expression. Writes Judge Claude Boudreux: "Is there any purer form of freedom of expression than the spoken language and written language?"

The decision heightened political pressure on Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa, who postponed his election pledge to allow bilingual signs until after the Court of Appeal had ruled. Said Michael Goldblum, the president of Alliance Quebec, which lobbies on behalf of the province's 850,000 English-speaking residents and which funded the legal challenge to the law: "The judgment sets out clear parameters for the government, and we expect them to respect their election commitments."

But any action to ease restrictions on languages other than French will likely encounter fierce hostility. After the Appeal Court ruling, two stores displaying bilingual signs were attacked. A suburban Montreal store run by Zellers Inc. was firebombed, and rocks were thrown through the windows of a downtown shop run by Kenneth McKenna, one of the businessmen who successfully appealed the sign law. A group calling itself the 3rd of the Front de libération du Québec (FLQ)—the name used by pre-independence terrorists in the 1960s and early 1970s—claimed responsibility for the attack on the Zellers store, but a Montreal police spokesman said he doubted that the FLQ was involved. Zellers hastily removed English signs from all its stores.

Before the court decision, Bourassa's government rejected an earlier decision not to prosecute businesses displaying bilingual signs, and charged 89 Montreal newsstandists with violating Bill 101. Following the ruling, Bourassa would not say what would happen with these cases. The province has 90 days to decide whether to appeal the decision, and in the meantime, said the premier, "the law is in force."

—RICHIE WILKINSON in Montreal

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Israeli soldier keeping watch on Manger Square, a grim Christmas, but 'the message of peace must go on'

WORLD

## Bitterness in Bethlehem

In his office overlooking Holy Manger Square and the Church of the Nativity, Eliss Freg, the mayor of Bethlehem, was clearly in a somber mood last week. In the square, the Christmas tree was lit and the colored lights were strung from the lampposts. But there was little joy in Bethlehem. Earlier in December violence had erupted throughout the West Bank as protesting Palestinian students battled Israeli troops. Eventually, the fighting spilled over into the normally peaceful streets of Bethlehem. Now, the town was unusually quiet, as most tourists stayed away. Said Freg: "It's the gloomiest Christmas I can remember."

As a Palestinian, moderate—dedicated to the idea of co-existence with Israel—and as a member of the West Bank's Arab Christmas committee, Freg had reason for concern. In about 20 years of Israeli military rule, relations between the local people and the occupation authorities have never been worse—war has broken out, but peace has never been closer. The souvenir shops lining the square, with their olive-wood and mother-of-pearl religious trinkets, were almost

deserted. The restaurants were also nearly empty. And 16 km south, in Jerusalem, the hotels were also suffering—partly due to the tense situation and partly due to the decline of the U.S. dollar. Even the biggest and most stylish, the 21-story Jerusalem Hilton, had only 60-per-cent occupancy, compared with the normal 70 per cent at Christmas. Said general manager Jeremy Frank: "We have to stay open for the few who are here."

The recent West Bank violence began when Israeli troops set up a road-block near Bir Zeit University and students protested, starting a riot in which one student was shot dead by the army. The trouble quickly spread to other areas, and within 16 days three more Arab youths were killed and 22 wounded in clashes with the troops. Even the moderate Freg did not conceal his bitterness: "What the Israeli soldiers did was unbelievable," he said.

Still, some tourists were welcomed. George Aury, a retired schoolteacher from Saskatoon, was a first-time visitor to the Church of the Nativity, the 6th-century basilica built over the re-

puted birthplace of Christ. "I feel very humble to be seeing this place," said Aury. He added, "Jerusalem is a bit of a mess, but things are never as bad when you actually get to a place." That optimism was shared by Robert Pich, a retired university professor from Kingston, Ont., who said, "It's not as bad as we had been led to believe." Added his wife, Marguerite, herself a professor of education at Queen's: "Tourists hardly ever get hurt."

Indeed, the Israelis were taking extra security precautions to protect visitors. On the roof of the police station overlooking Holy Manger Square, authorities had erected a tent to provide shelter for troops who would spend Christmas Eve on watch. Many more soldiers were deployed in the vicinity. But another Canadian visitor, Harold Dick from Winnipeg, complained, "The Christmas Arabs want to celebrate Christmas without soldiers and without all this security apparatus." And in the narrow streets away from the town centre, that war was echoed. Said Ben Nasser, a Christian Arab doctor: "This celebration is not for us, the local Christian people. It is for the foreign-

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ers, the Israelis and the invited guests. We cannot even get into the church for midnight mass on Christmas Eve. And very few of us go to Manger Square anymore. It's surrounded by Israeli soldiers whose presence simply reminds us of the occupation," added a friend of the doctor. "What you don't see is our humiliation."

On the outskirts of Bethlehem, is the Dehaskia refugee camp. Hamdi Faraj, a 58-year-old journalist with ties to the Palestine Liberation Organization, sat on the porch of the small, concrete house that he shared with his wife, his mother and seven brothers and sisters. "The recent troubles can be explained as the reaction of the people against Israeli occupation," he said. "This is the real Bethlehem."

The mood was equally gloomy in the narrow streets of old Jerusalem. There, the recent murder of a young Jewish religious student by three Arabs led to rioting by angry Israelis. The Arab merchants, shopkeepers and hotel owners who rely heavily on the Christian trade said that customers were now afraid to enter the old city. Road shopkeeper Matti Shalabi: "This is not just quiet. This is dead." On the nearby Via Dolorosa, the path believed to have been followed by Jesus on the way to the Crucifixion, antique dealer George Jawabeh complained: "It is hard for us Palestinians. Politically it is bad and now it is also economically bad."

Meanwhile, in the lobby of the usually crowded St. George Hotel, the lights were switched off because there were no guests. Several small hotels in Arab east Jerusalem had closed their doors for the winter, and officials at even the big international hotels were complaining of wholesale cancellations. Travel agents said that bookings by North Americans were down by as much as 70 percent.

For Israeli Jews, the troubles on the West Bank and world criticism of their soldiers' tough tactics had cast a pall over the usually joyous Hanukkah festival. This year the festival of lights runs from Dec. 27 to Jan. 3. "I was born in Germany during the Second World War," said Tamir, an Israeli tour guide, as she led a small group of tourists through the Church of the Nativity. "Most of my family did not survive. Please tell people that all we want is to live in peace. I have only known wars in my life. I hope one day it will change." Mager Faraj, too, was clinging to hope in a situation which seemed to offer little. Said Faraj: "Bethlehem is still the safest spot on earth. Its message to the world about peace must be sent out, whatever has happened."

—JUDITH BERNHEIM with PAUL ROYCEWICZ in Bethlehem

**ROYAL TRUST**

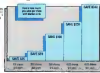
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# Unicorp fuels a fight



Goldman; Leach (below) a carefully crafted deal averts the new combined law

**H**esitantly, the federal Competition Investigation Act, passed in 2003, has proven to be highly ineffective legislation. In reality, a dozen attempts, lawyers representing the federal government never managed to have a takeover or merger disallowed under the law. But in late November a new group of regulators, empowered under the new Competition Act of June 19, started many members of corporate Canada. In the first case that it reviewed, it ordered the \$66-million sale of Unicom Canada Corp.'s Calgary-based Palm Dunes Ltd. to a consortium of four Western Canadian dairy co-operatives and ending Palm management. The regulators' landmark message: the co-operatives of industrial power, even in the name of greater efficiency, will not automatically be accepted. Said Unicom president James Leach, the first executive suing by the new law. "We thought we had a deal with a government agency. Now we are confused as to how to proceed."

The Competition Act set up two new federal agencies: a bureau of competition policy, operating under Consumer and Corporate Affairs, and a competi-

tion tribunal. Appointed by the cabinet, the tribunal is a 12-member board of lawyers and federal court judges that rules on recommendations sent to it by policy director Calvin Goldman. The tribunal's decision led to an appeal launched on Dec. 1, from the policy bureau, which forced a power struggle between the two branches. Goldman said that his branch had hammered out a compromise in the Palm case that would have protected competitors by diversifying ownership control, and he added that it should have been passed by the tribunal. But the tribunal ruled against that plan, stating that consumers would only be protected if Palm was sold to an independent third firm.

In response, Goldman referred the case to the Federal Court of Appeal. Its interpretation of the Palm case, due as early as next week, will determine which body will dominate future assessments of corporate concentra-

tion in Canada. Said Goldman "By taking the matter to court, we are seeking diversity and interpretation."

At the crux of the dispute is Unicom's Leach. He said that he spent five months working on the purchase and added that he thought he and Goldman's bureau had come to an acceptable ownership compromise. Their agreement would have reduced the dairy co-operatives' control of Palm by giving the dairy's directors an ownership stake. That satisfied Goldman, but not the tribunal. Said Leach "It is all very nice for the tribunal and the director to have a power struggle, but it is frustrating to be the guinea pig."

The court battle was an inauspicious debut for Goldman, 36. When he became director of the bureau last April, Consumer and Corporate Affairs expected him to police its new Competition Act. And Goldman did act quickly to prevent the Palm sale last spring when Unicom first proposed to sell 100 per cent of the firm to the co-operatives. Unicom officials had argued that consumers would be protected because milk prices were set by independent provincial marketing boards and not the milk producers. But Goldman claimed that if the sale went ahead as proposed, it would result in the four co-operatives dominating the fresh-milk market in Western Canada, including 96 per cent of the industry in Saskatchewan, 80 per cent in Alberta and 51 per cent in British Columbia.

The new Competition Act, crafted by then-consumer and corporate affairs minister Michel Côté and Lawrence Hunter, Goldman's predecessor as director of the combined department, gives the policy director sweeping powers to

reach compromise agreements with merging firms. The agreements streamline the system and avoid lengthy proceedings before the tribunal. But now analysts see long-term implications in Goldman's central role. William Shewbury, a University of British Columbia commerce profes-



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see specializing in combined legislation, says that in effect the tribunal is warning that it will not simply rubber-stamp recommendations from the policy group and is digging in. Indeed, the tribunal made it clear in its decision that it wants competition given more priority than bringing greater efficiency to the industry through consolidation.

Still, Stanbury blames the politicians who drafted the Competition Act, not Goldman. If they had clearly outlined what the tribunals and the policy director's responsibilities were, the power struggle might have been avoided, he says. The guidelines are so confusing that a lawyer involved in customer procedures said that depending on how the court rules, Goldman might be able to ignore the tribunals altogether. In the same way, businesses, seeing Goldman's weak position, might choose to go around him and appeal to the tribunal.

But former combined director Lawrence Hunter predicted that once the Appeal Court sets guidelines clearly outlining the policy bureau's jurisdiction, Goldman will be positioned to use the provisions of the tough new act. Hunter said that if Goldman does indeed have the power to make inter-car arrangements such as the one reached in the Palm case, businesses will avoid protracted litigation by working with the policy sector. Said Hunter, "Firms just do not want to get involved in costly litigation that leaves them uncertain for a considerable period of time."

Still, even if Goldman ultimately wins his case before the Appeal Court, Hunter said, the tribunal will continue to make its presence felt. Declared Hunter, "The Palm case tells us that Goldman is not out there operating by himself, that there is a tribunal and the tribunal is going to play an important and active role in watching what he's doing."

However, Goldman's fight with the tribunal is complicated by severe financial restrictions. Money allocated under the old Combined Act was not sufficient to fund Policy's expanded responsibilities. But Goldman said that he does not expect the shortfall to hinder his policy work. "As far as I am concerned, I have the full support of the government to ensure this new legislation is implemented," he said. Still, until the courts interpret the new act, companies such as Unicorp will remain trapped between Goldman's policy department and the tribunal.

—TOM PENNELL, with TERENCE MALLICK in Montreal, MARGIE DILLIARD in St. John and JOHN HOWE in Calgary

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## Steady as it goes for the new year



By Peter C. Newman

**A** flat money and a buoyant stock market make 1987 as it seems that is the prevailing view of what is in store for 1987.

Andrew Sarkis, the resident grouse of Bay Street whose past predictions have been accurately accurate, forecasts that the Dow Jones will currently hovering at 1,900 will not be between 2,400 and 2,600 during the next 12 months, following a dip in the first quarter. His long-term prediction is even more bullish. He sees the Dow rising past 3,000 by the end of 1988, but foresees a sharp and prolonged slide after that.

"The economy, however, will be flat," he told me. "Because the Democratic Congress will not approve a rise in defense spending while a Republican President won't allow an increase in social benefits, the U.S. budget deficit will stay at a reasonably stable level. In Canada, far very different but equally valid reasons, the deficit will also not grow and the economy will stay in its currently horizontal trend."

He is betting that interest rates will come down from their already low levels, which should make bonds and financial assets a good buy. "That stock correction during the first quarter," he says, "will only create buying opportunities for those who are not yet in the market and a chance to fully invest for people who are already in it." His judgment is that the best performing issues will be American blue-chip multinationals in service fields, such as Hamilton Kodal, General Electric, Merck, IBM, IBM and Apple. In Canada he sees the best prospects for the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce and any companies connected with what he calls "the Big Three Pension"—the Bencrafts, the Bencrafts and Paul Bencraft.

Most economists don't quarrel with that assessment, citing for little more than a three-per-cent increase in the gross domestic product for 1987, with unemployment dipping less than one per cent. That would compare with a predicted economic expansion of 3.1 per cent in the United States, with other countries, including Japan and West Germany, growing even slower than we. The gross domestic products of Switzerland, Britain and Japan are predicted to rise only 2.1 per cent.

Canadian housing starts will be

down from the near-record levels set in 1986, but overall labor productivity will start a slow climb upward. What driving force there is in the economy will come from more rapid capital spending by industry in Central Canada. That could drive the indicators a little higher, because that kind of expenditure has considerable multiplier effects. While unemployment moves down only marginally, exports will grow with a gradual recovery in com-



Sarkis: time for blue-chip stocks

modity prices, leaving us with a better trade surplus by the end of 1987. Consumer spending, which has fuelled the economy in the past years, will slow down, mainly because the bubble of pent-up demand for cars has now been satisfied.

The major question mark about any future prognosis, of course, is the price of oil. It is just about impossible to make much of a meaningful prediction, because so much will depend on how long OPEC will be able to act as a

visible cartel. With world oil consumption growing at only about 1.2 per cent a year, prices will not likely move beyond the \$15 to \$20-per-barrel range—with a long-term rise to \$25 possible by the end of the century.

Other commodity prices, especially metal prices, are expected to rise. Aluminum prices have already rebounded, and even copper futures are looking better, but the bottom will sleep all of lead as battery sales decline. The shift to service industries, which accounted for more than half of Canada's gross domestic product in 1985, will continue.

Unfortunately, the continuing evolution of this sector will have even more of Canada's economic growth into Ontario. "The fact that Toronto is the international banking centre of Canada and the head office location for most of the large service companies suggests that Ontario is in a much better position than other provinces to encourage future service-sector development," says Mitchell Rothman, chief economist for Ontario Hydro.

Rothman accurately points out that the present pattern of Canadian economic development is likely to continue, which means the perpetuation of Ontario as the engine that drives the whole economy. Ontario consumers are not only more confident than the citizens of any other province, they are sitting on stable earnings and seem willing to spend them. "This province," Rothman insists, "being the centre of national economic gravity, will be in a favorable position to attract investment."

During 1986 unemployment in Ontario, or at least inside its thriving Golden Horseshoe at the eastern end of Lake Ontario, was below the national average. Also during the past 12 months private and public investment in manufacturing increased an average 30 per cent—and that on top of a 30-per-cent jump in 1985. Total capital investment in the province was up 16.2 per cent for this year, while the same figures for the rest of Canada showed a 4.1-per-cent drop. For 1987, Ontario Hydro's predictions for the province are 2.6 points under the national jobless rate of 9.3 per cent.

That is wonderful for residents of that magic Horseshoe sector, but hell for those who live in the underprivileged regions of the country—which is rapidly turning out to be everywhere else.

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## FILMS: BRIEF ENCOUNTERS

### NATIVE SON

Directed by Jerrold Freedman

A best-seller in 1940, *Native Son* is a book about a black youth's accidental murder of a rich white girl. It was—as its author, Richard Wright, intended it to be—a hard look at the black man's rage over poverty and subservience to whites. But best intentions do not always produce vital results. The film adaptation of Wright's pioneering novel is a case in point: the movie has retained just about everything about the book except its passion.

Bigger Thomas (Victor Love) is a young black working as a chauffeur for a rich liberal white family, the Daltons. But when he finds himself in the bedroom of Mary Dalton (Elizabeth McVie), the family's daughter, innocent daughter, he inadvertently awakens her while trying to keep her quiet to avoid a scene. Panicked, he berms the body in the furnace. When the remains are found, he runs away. He is apprehended and faces trial and a foregone verdict because of his color.

Unfortunately, *Native Son* shows Thomas's tragedy as an oddly respectful



Monstrous back health and desperation

dance. The performance has the quality of self-contained theatrical turns, drained from miserable energy and tension. Matt Dillon is underwhelmed as Mary's Communist intellectual boyfriend, Geraldine Page steps up the floor, theatrically opening, as the Irish mother Oprah Winfrey (as Bigger's mother) evades her rag song as she goes for her son's life. And the director, Jerrold Freedman, a veteran of several made-for-TV movies, approaches Wright's material gloddishly. Obviously a labor of love, *Native Son* fails—because it tries to portray black rage while wearing white kid gloves.

—LAWRENCE O'CONNOR

### LITTLE SHOP OF HORRORS

Directed by Frank Oz

Some scientists speculate that giants have a secret life. If so, it comes crashing out of the closet in *Little Shop of Horrors*, the engaging remake of the 1960 cult classic horror film, which was also a New York hit stage musical. The star, a non-singing plant from outer space named Audrey II, is human, benevolent, and from outer space. Despite its female name, Audrey II demands "Feed me!" in the definitely male voice of

Levi Stubbs of the Manos pag group. The Poor Boys, Clancy Seymour Kwikkers (Rick Moranis), who works in the seldom-mentioned Mushnik's Flower Shop, decides to move the exotic bloom from the basement, where he has been tending it, to the shop's front window. As shoppers flock to Mushnik's to see it, Seymour is forced to meet its demands for nourishment: human blood. Audrey II—christened after shop assistant Audrey Ellen Greenet, the object of Seymour's shy affection—keeps growing. Seymour becomes a national celebrity and natives get way out of hand.

Frank Oz, known for supplying the voices for such characters as the tiny alien who says Yoda in *The Empire Strikes Back*, directs *Little Shop of Horrors* with sparkle. He appears to have nothing in mind other than the desire to entertain, which he does with great flair. And the casting is inspired. Moranis, all gluttony, desperation and glistening back teeth, is splendid as Seymour, and Greenet as the demure, lisp-tinged Audrey II. Audrey II is her way as much a denizen of outer space as her voracious plant nemesis. But the movie's high-light is Steve Martin, who is brilliant as Audrey's above-the-law boyfriend, Gita Serenika, and Bill Mac-

rag, who makes a brief appearance as his venal, macabre patent. Although Mushnik (Vincent Gardenia) warns Audrey to stay away from Serenika—"A date gives you a courage, not multiple fractures," he tells her—Audrey is too intrigued to leave.

Eventually, Serenika disappears inside the voracious Audrey II, who grows more disgusting, mauling and towsen. But just as the movie shows signs of wilting, Oz brings events to a swift and painless finish. Right to the end, his nerve keeps *Little Shop of Horrors* in full-bloom.

—L. O'Y

### THE MORNING AFTER

Directed by Sidney Lumet

As a murder mystery, the *Morning After* is a lousy, sloppily constructed and easy to figure out. But as a gross-out, funny, cautionary tale on the terrors of drinking—and as a love story—it works beautifully. Jane Fonda gives her best performance in years as Alex Sternberg, a faded alcoholic middle-aged screenwriter with the more than Vivian von Arnim. After one night of particularly strenuous drinking, she blacks out—and wakes

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up the next morning in bed with a dead man. Remembering nothing, panicked and desperate, Alex tries to skip out of town. At the Los Angeles airport, she slides police by jumping into the nearest car. Something of a wreck, it belongs to Turner Kendall (Jeff Bridges), who has retired from his job as a police officer under mysterious circumstances. Together, Alex and Turner attempt to solve the murder.

With compassion and sardonic humor, screenwriter James Hicks and director Sidney Lumet (*The Verdict*) tell a fragment tale of two outsiders trying to connect under duress. While Turner buys Alex a Thanksgiving turkey dinner, she levels a barrage of insults at him between gulps of Thersderb wine. But Turner remains understanding, and he makes it clear that he will stick by her. Few movies have so subtly and touchingly explored the desperate need of people to clench at human warmth.

Ponds has delivered a string of bad performances in recent years. But as the has-been actress who never really was, she paints a raw and pitifully self-indulgently delicate portrait of a woman whose life has left her with two dominant emotions: rage and regret. Bridges is equally superb as a fellow so lonely that he will do anything to please. "Whatever makes you happy," is his catchphrase, one that echoes long after the film is over. Together, Ponds and Bridges are heartbreakingly funny. *The Morning After* never senti-

mentizes drinking; watching it is like sharing someone's hangover.

—L.O.T.

#### BRIGHTON BEACH MEMOIRS Directed by Gene Saks

**G**osh, wisecracks affect work better than soap: that is screen life. In *Brighton Beach Memoirs*, the movie adaptation of Neil Simon's Tony Award-winning play, they interfere with what could have been an emotionally involving drama about a working-class Brooklyn Jewish family, the Jerome. Eugene Jerome (Jonathan Silverman), Simon's alter ego in the loosely autobiographical script—is a human joke machine. As he mounds growing up in Brooklyn's Brighton Beach district in 1937, Eugene makes us so many clever jokes that he distances the audience uncomfortably from his family's story. But the difficulties of the Jerome demand more tender treatment than the film script, also by Simon, gives it.

Simon undoubtedly intended the neo-chaunted Eugene's juvenile wit-ness to lighten the gravity of the family's situation. Despite a serious heart condition, the boy's father, Jack (Bob O'Neil), works at two jobs just to keep his household in food and clothing. Relations are at best uneasy between Eugene's mother, Kate (Ruth Dwyer), and her widowed sister, Blanche (Julia Faye)—whom

or brother, Stanley, and Ivy, as the nervous, nervous Blanche—seem stagg and theatrical.

*Brighton Beach Memoirs* has a lot of heart. But, punctuated with jokes that are like useless shots of adrenaline, it beats with disconcerting irregularity.

—L.O.T.

#### MACLEAN'S BEST SELLER LIST

##### FICTION

- 1 *Whitehead, Chet* (3)
- 2 *Le Ring* (2)
- 3 *The Tolling of Lilies, Peadar* (2)
- 4 *A Taste for Death, James* (2)
- 5 *The Progress of Love, Moore* (2)
- 6 *Red, Prentiss* (2)
- 7 *The Queen's Secret, Tompkins* (2)
- 8 *Endless Harbours, Collins* (2)
- 9 *The Golden Cup, Pica* (2)
- 10 *Red Stone Rising, Clancy* (2)

##### NONFICTION

- 1 *Two, Brown* (2)
- 2 *Big War, The Unauthorized Biography of Frank Sinatra, Kelley* (2)
- 3 *Mothers, Lerner* (2)
- 4 *The Swimmers, Gentry* (2)
- 5 *Conquering Intrepid: Who Owns Canada? Prentiss* (2)
- 6 *The Modern Builders, Foster* (2)
- 7 *Takeover, Gaby* (2)
- 8 *Lines in Water, Gerson and Turmans* (2)
- 9 *Out of Character, Fitzgerald with McDonald* (2)
- 10 *Captain Williams: Dr. Mark Morris with Sam, Fickelburgh* (2)

(1) Fiction list only  
(2) Fiction list only

—Compiled by Frances McFadyen

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**ELECTROHOME**

## France's ring of light

When Gustave Eiffel built his famous tower for the 1889 Paris Exhibition, many of his countrymen called the 984-foot-tall iron edifice a masterpiece and waited for it to topple over with the first strong wind. But now French scientists are planning an equally controversial project to mark the tower's 100th anniversary. In 1989 a team of four French astrophysicists plans to launch what it calls a "ring of light" into space to circle the Earth in tribute to the tower. To achieve that effect, a half-ton package of 100 powerful reflectors, each linked by 765 feet of plastic tubing, is expected to be carried into space aboard a French observation satellite, launched along with an Ariane rocket of the European Space Agency (ESA). Once in orbit, the package of reflectors and tubing will be jettisoned from the rocket, forming a giant ring. Reflecting the sun's light, the ring will be visible from any single point in Europe and North America for 10 minutes out of each 90-minute orbit, appearing slightly larger than

the moon to an unaided viewer. The ring of light was selected in late November from among 90 ideas submitted by scientists throughout Europe in response to a competition set jointly

by the Eiffel Tower operating authority and the ESA. Rod Grimes (Chenak), an official with the Eiffel Tower authority, which is financing the \$2.5-billion plan. "We asked ourselves what Eiffel himself would do today if he were asked to symbolize present-day technology as a duet it would be a first in space." For his part, 45-year-old scientist Jean-Pierre Pommerehne, who developed the idea and is leading the project, said that the ring will remain in orbit 500 miles above the Earth for two years before breaking up. Pommerehne said the only serious technical difficulty will be to ensure

that the ring unfolds properly when it is released.

The rocket carrying the ring is scheduled to lift off in early 1989. But some experts said that the venture could interfere with scientific research. Declared Belgian astrophysicist Christian Muller, who himself took part in the Eiffel competition: "Astronomers fear that the luminosity and size of Pommerehne's ring could throw space photography out of kilter by making smaller objects behind it."

But the overriding concern of Muller and other scientists is that the ring could open the way to a new level of space pollution. While the United Nations' Outer Space Treaty limits the use of space to governments and state-approved private groups, it does not limit the material that can be put into orbit. Rod Muller "Careful to an extreme, it could mean that on the 100th anniversary of the Russian revolution, the world will look up to find a red star in the sky."

—PETER LEWIS in Brussels



Pommerehne's Ambition

## A magical world flight

Their achievement—the first non-stop, around-the-world flight without refueling—was never a certainty. Battered by turbulence and suffering from fatigue, last week pilot Dick Rutan, 48, and co-pilot Jeana Yeager, 34, triumphantly landed the experimental Voyager aircraft at California's Edwards Air Force Base, successfully completing a one-day, 26,000-mile journey. Dick Rutan, a former U.S. fighter pilot. "It's really good to be back, it's like a shower."

The flight was a technological and human triumph. Designed by Dick Rutan, Dick's brother, and built from lightweight graphite composite, the Voyager weighed only 1,600 lb. Still, the craft's fuel-laden wing tips were damaged as they scraped the terrain on takeoff. Aft in their tiny cockpit, the pilots fought head winds, storms and mechanical failures. But Rutan and Yeager bottled their way home—making history in the process. ☺



Rutan and Yeager after landing, buffeting storms while making aviation history

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# A turning away from politics

By Rae Corelli

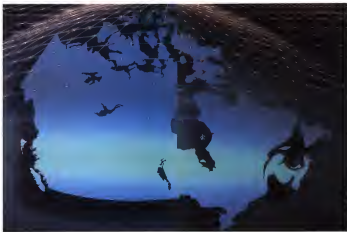
**T**he pulse rate provides clues that can help a skilled physician learn a lot about his patient. In combination with other symptoms and signs, it may point to the presence of disease of the heart, the arteries, the thyroid or the lungs. More superficially, the pulse rate will mirror strong emotion, anger, stress, fear or great stress. As with individuals, so it has become with nations. The social and mathematical science of polling is pulse-taking on a grand scale, and its techniques, computerized and refined to a high degree, can track the mood swings—including the boundaries, the enthusiasms, the raptures—of populations in the millions.

In the following pages are the results of the 1986 Maclean's/Decima national poll. Those results indicate that Canada's pulse is normal, perhaps a touch on the slow side. The patient appears calm, although there are trends behind the equanimity that may threaten the stability—and even the relevance—of Canada's political institutions. Generally, Canadians are distancing themselves from the political process. The poll indicates that a majority are shedding idealism in favor of pragmatism. Many acknowledge a willingness to accept principles to get what they want out of life. Canadians are turning inward to families and careers in search of personal rewards. And almost nine out of 10 say they would never run for public office.

All of that points to the possibility that, six months shy of its 120th birthday, Canada is on the threshold of profound social and political change. Government, the Canadian's traditional ally and benefactor, is falling out of favor. With parts of the country in the grip of economic stagnation, many Canadians are growing pessimistic about the nation's economic future while searching to support themselves. As a result, individually, a kind of do-it-yourself citizenship appears to be supplanting faith in government in the minds of many.

That alienation is a far cry from the confident national mood in 1963, when Northrop Frye, the country's pre-eminent literary scholar, wrote "Historically, a Canadian is an American who rejects the revolution." In 1963 self-satisfaction was a forgivable excess. The government and the governors were widely praised by national press—in having put more than a million men and women in uniform during the Second World War, in a distinguished record in the Korean War, in the fearless enthusiasm of a collective response to the challenges of peace.

Now, more than three decades after Frye's observations appeared in *The University of Toronto Quarterly*, the collaborative spirit between the people and government has



begun to erode. Year by year, except for the challenge of the 1967 Centennial, the sense of national purpose has been diminished in the face of regional rivalries and perceived injustice, by the clamor for language rights, fishing rights and native rights, by disputes over falling oil prices, unaided wheat and slaughtered animals, by the resentments of Western Canada and the Atlantic provinces against Central Canada, and by the grievances of the poor and the elderly and the immigrant. Year by year the demands for relief, for justice, for compensation have gone to government, but the responses, for whatever reason, have only served to widen the gap.

The Maclean's/Decima Poll contains evidence that Northrop Frye's idea of revolution may now be taking shape—not in harsh confrontation but more in cool detachment

from national government. Said Bruce Anderson, Decima's vice-president of public affairs research. "Increasingly, people are looking away from government as the provider and are looking to their own (individual) means. While we are in a period in which people are mostly optimistic and more or less satisfied, there is a disengagement with the political process."

At the same time, Anderson said, the country's government and corporations may have to revise their earlier assumptions that the "baby boom" generation more than anything else wanted to concentrate on promising careers and money. It turned out that what large numbers of baby boomers now wanted were babies and ways to blend careers and family by such means as computer-aided day care for their children.

"All this has tremendous ramifications for governments and employers," said Anderson. "What people are saying is that their families have become more important. Maybe after 10 or 15 years in the workforce, some people are concluding that all that effort in terms of rewards hasn't provided happiness to the extent they thought it would. Canadians are very practical in the pursuit of things that bring them satisfaction, and since 1963 they have been more and more concerned with individual issues."

But it may take more than a high-level recognition of these subtle trends to heal the breach between elector and legislator. A report card on the federal government in the Maclean's/Decima Poll shows that many Canadians harbor negative feelings toward Ottawa. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, slipping in public esteem, has been left with the dubious distinction of being graded by half the respondents as no better or no worse than his predecessors. More significantly for the country, perhaps, was the discovery that, given a hypothetical chance at a world reputation in one of five fields, Canadians put business, writing, sports and acting ahead of politics.

None of that came as any surprise to Richard Lapsley, the 65-year-old senior economic adviser to the C.D. Howe Institute, the Toronto-based think tank, and professor of economics at Queen's University in Kingston, Ont. Said Lapsley: "Historically, the difference between Canadians and Americans was that Americans feared government while Canadians regarded themselves as partners with government in fighting a cruel environment. But that is changing. Everywhere I go, people are becoming fed up with government. The cynicism with which Americans have always regarded government is becoming quite a force in this country. We see government as more and more responsive." Added Lapsley: "People don't know what they want but they know it isn't style, and I don't think the parties have any idea of what people want. The political attraction in this country is up for grabs unlike any time since the 1930s."

If Lapsley is right, the history of the country provides few clues about where Canadians, and these estranged with their political favorites, go from here. One fanciful clue may lie in the year of Canadian Confederation, 1967. That, in the ancient Chinese calendar, was a Year of the Cat. Those born under the sign are described as reserved and virtuous, calm and placid, even timid. Says a book on Asian astrology, eat people hate "anything that disturbs their quiet life or poses problems for them to solve." For many Canadians, government and the political process itself pose problems—but problems that some choose to ignore or to set aside in favor of a quieter life.

# A volatile national mood

MACLEAN'S/DECIMA POLL SUMMARY

**W**illie Goodyear, a 36-year-old electronics who lives in Carmichael, Nfld., says he does not have a great deal of faith in the men and women who govern Canada. But even though he could only find work far about seven months in the past year, he is surprisingly optimistic about what the future will hold for him, his wife, Jacqueline, and their two children. "If things keep going like they are now," said Goodyear, "I'll be doing okay."

That mix of sentiments appeared to be shared by the majority of Canadians in 1986 (live in a close. The results of the third annual Maclean's/Decima Poll showed Goodyear and his fellow poll respondents to be in an ambivalent mood. Although they were more optimistic than ever about their own future, confidence in Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's leadership had declined from the 1985 poll. And Canadians expressed concern about issues ranging from unemployment to the federal deficit and, increasingly, about the possible risks involved in widened trade arrangements with the United States.

Responses to the poll, which are reported in detail in the following pages, also indicated that for the majority of Canadians traditional social values, including the family and jobs, are assuming a new importance. No fewer than 81 per cent of the respondents said that family is becoming a more important part of their lives. Paul Sexton, a school-

teacher who lives in Chatham, B.C., with his wife and two children, believes that people increasingly "need the security, love and acceptance of a family. In our society, the small family nucleus is isolated from others, and the extended family is less im-

portant." In a separate question, 69 per cent reported that their jobs are assuming a more important role in their lives.

At the same time, the level of personal optimism among Canadians has risen since the surveys of 1985 and 1984. Despite the bleak economic conditions that generally prevailed outside of Central Canada, 65 per cent of the respondents said that they were optimistic about their own future, compared to 60 per cent in 1985. And 74 per cent of those polled declared that they were satisfied with their personal economic situation, virtually unchanged from 1985, when 73 per cent of the respondents felt that way, and 1984, when the percentage was 76.

For the most part, these hopeful personal sentiments did not extend to assessments of the state of the economy generally. Only 33 per cent of those interviewed said that they believe there is a long-term economic recovery under way. A year earlier 38 per cent said that the economic recovery would last for a long time. And is a significant shift of opinion, the number of respondents who felt that widened Canada-U.S. trade is no risk, worth pursuing declined to 47 per cent from 70 per cent in the 1985 pre-and survey. Interestingly, respondents were not particularly worried about the loss of Canada's cultural identity that some critics fear could result from a closer trade relationship. But there is growing concern that Cana-



The Sexton family, like many Canadians, the traditional values of family life are assuming a new importance

da might be out-weighed and that a trade deal would not create more jobs in Canada.

Respondents also expressed skepticism about Mulroney's Conservative government, which received mostly a grade of C or worse for, among other things, its handling of Canada's relationship with the United States and its efforts to make government work more efficiently. Overall, the percentage of respondents who were satisfied with the job Mulroney is doing fell to 30 per cent from 37 per cent in 1985. "He's

pretty wacky-wacky, the type of person who can be swung easily," said poll respondent Linda Dunn, a freelance advertising copywriter and mother of two who lives in Edmonton. "I never thought I'd see the day when I'd want Pierre Trudeau back. But I do. He was a strong-willed man."

Though Canadians were clearly uneasy about many areas of their national life, the poll indicated that to a large extent those concerns are increasingly diffuse. Still, economic issues, including government spending,

taxes, interest rates and inflation, were all areas of growing concern. Twenty-seven per cent of those polled rated unemployment—which stood at more than nine per cent of the workforce when the poll was taken during the first week of November—as the most important issue facing Canada, while nearly 12 per cent singled out youth unemployment as the key issue. "Unemployment causes a lot of strife for families and individuals," said James Black, 34, who works as a designer for a Lethbridge, Alta., ar-



Goodyear: increasing personal optimism in Canada

editorial deadline first. "It damages self-esteem and disrupts the whole domestic economic pattern."

The Maclean's/Dominion Poll also sought to determine just how active, and adventurous, Canadians are in their sex lives. Five per cent of the respondents claimed to have had sex with more than one partner at the same time, while 31 per cent admitted to having had sex outdoors. When participants in the survey were asked a question similar to one that U.S. newspaper columnist Ann Landers put to her readers in 1964—whether they shared more experiences on being treated with love and tenderness or on sexual fulfillment—fully 80 per cent put love and tenderness first.

All of these findings emerged after Maclean's commissioned Decima Research Ltd. of Toronto to test the mood of the nation. Armed with a list of 68 questions, Decima interviewers conducted a series of 30-minute telephone interviews with 1,500 Canadian residents aged 18 and over between Nov. 1 and Nov. 4. The data, which were geographically weighted to make regional comparisons possible, included Canadians 55 and older of all income groups and of varying political persuasions.

Statisticians consider that a poll of the type carried out by Decima will produce results that are accurate for the whole population within 2-4 percentage points 19 times out of 20. During the interviews by Decima personnel, respondents were asked if they would agree to follow-up interviews by Maclean's reporters. While the vast majority (87.4 per cent) of the respondents opted for anonymity, 188 respondents across the country agreed to be interviewed on a wide range of subjects.

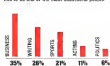
#### POLITICS

Even though 1988 proved to be less tumultuous politically than so-called dog-eat-dog 1985, Brian Mulroney's standing with Canadians nevertheless appeared to suffer a further, marked erosion. 42 per cent of the respondents said that they were dissatisfied with the job the Prime Minister was doing, compared to the 33 per cent who felt that way the year before. At the same time, 47 per cent of those polled thought that Mulroney was doing a more job than his predecessors in helping the country work together, compared to only 36 per

cent who felt that way in 1985. In a more general evaluation, respondents were asked to grade the Mulroney government on a report card with marks ranging from A to F—and 44 per cent awarded the Mulroney administration a C for its overall performance. While 37 per cent of those polled gave the government either a D or an F for its efforts to aid the econ-



Choice of fields in which poll respondents would like to be one of the most successful people



The most important issues facing Canada

	1986	1985
UNEMPLOYMENT	39%	45%
OTHER ECONOMIC	19%	9%
SOCIAL/MORAL	15%	5%
GOVERNMENT	10%	6%
FREE TRADE	6%	2%
OTHER/NO ANSWER	23%	33%

cent, respondents were even harsher in their assessment of whether the Mulroney government was spending too dollars wisely, with 58 per cent of those polled giving Ottawa a D and 38 per cent an F. On the question of how well Ottawa is managing Canada's relationship with the United States, 34 per cent of the respondents gave the government a C, while 40 per cent said that effort a D or an F.

#### THE ECONOMY

The poll results suggested that even though more Canadians are optimistic about their personal economic prospects, they are growing more pessimistic about the country's immediate economic outlook. The percentage of respondents who believed that the economy is only experiencing

a short-term recovery rose to 31 per cent from 27 in the previous survey. At the same time, 42 per cent of the respondents—the same percentage as in last year's poll, but down from 49 per cent in 1984—said that they looked to government to protect their best economic interests, while 31 per cent looked to business, compared to 33 per cent in the previous poll. Another 13 per cent said that they relied on the labor movement to look after their interests, virtually the same percentage as in 1984.

#### FREE TRADE

With negotiations for freer Canada-U.S. trade at a critical stage, and clouded by protective trade measures on both sides of the border, respondents said that they were pessimistic about the outcome of the negotiations. The percentage of respondents who said that the Americans would prove to be better negotiators in the talks—and would therefore make a better deal than the Canadians—rose dramatically to 53 per cent from 37 per cent in the previous poll. The percentage of respondents who said that the Canadian side would bargain "fairly and effectively" dropped to 46 per cent from 61 in the earlier survey. As well, the percentage who said that more open trading arrangements between Canada and the United States would result in more jobs for Canadians fell to 34 per cent from 44 per cent.

#### THE ARMS RACE

When they were asked to look outward to the international stage and the prospects for arms control, respondents in the survey adopted a cautious attitude toward President Ronald Reagan's hard-line bargaining stance with the Soviet Union. Pelled just three weeks after Reagan's Oct. 11-12 meeting in Reykjavik, Iceland, with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, 52 per cent of the respondents said that Reagan was right not to make any concessions regarding the United States' sponsored Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) as a condition for a reduction in nuclear arms. Forty per cent said that he should have compromised. But when respondents were asked the hypothetical question of choosing between being conquered by the Soviets or enduring a nuclear war, 56 per cent said they would live under Sovi-



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of role, while 42 per cent said that they would rather have a nuclear war.

## SEX

The respondents regard themselves as sexually active, fairly adventurous in their sex lives and overwhelmingly monogamous, with fully 73 per cent of those polled declaring that they had only one sexual partner in the past year. Six per cent said that they had had sex or more partners in that period. Nineteen per cent said that they had had sex with someone they considered to be a stranger, and 48 per cent claimed to have had sex in a moving vehicle such as an airplane or train. When they were asked about Ottawa's

respondents were evenly split on their reactions to declining church attendance, with 47 per cent of them professing to be concerned by the trend while 42 per cent said that they were not. One religious phenomenon that did arouse concern was the growing number of television evangelists—a trend that 85 fewer than 73 per cent of those polled said made them uncomfortable.

## SOCIAL ATTITUDES

Overall, the respondents regard themselves as less idealistic—and financially more realistic—in the political right than in the past. Seventy per cent of the respondents said that to some extent they had sacrificed

political parties they normally identified with, 35 per cent of the respondents named the Liberal party, 22 per cent the Conservatives and 14 per cent the New Democratic Party.

The survey also probed Canadians' attitudes toward different professional groups by asking respondents to imagine what field they would most wish to excel in. While 35 per cent chose business and a surprising 36 per cent chose writing, only six per cent of those polled opted for politics as the career in which they would most like to succeed. That appeared to reflect a strongly negative judgment of Canada's politicians, mirroring the pessimism felt about some aspects of the nation's affairs.

An respondent Linda Dunn ob-

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Anderson, Decline analyst Martin Crayne, pulse-taking on a grand scale, to track the population's mood swings

plans to outlaw certain kinds of pornography, 52 per cent of those interviewed thought that the government has would affect materials they might be interested in.

## RELIGION

While four out of 10 of those surveyed reported that the importance of religion in their lives had increased, 38 per cent said that the opposite was true. At the same time,

principles in order to get what they wanted out of life. And although 71 per cent said that they had not shifted their political position at all, 15 per cent said that they had moved toward the right, compared with 52 per cent who thought that they had moved toward the left on the political spectrum. According to the poll results, these minor shifts to the left or right were unlikely to change the basic division of political loyalties in the country. Asked which of the main

current, "We're definitely in a depression out here in Alberta, and I think it's going to get worse. But I still feel that in the long run things will get better and people will begin to feel optimistic again." In the end, if The Mackenzie-Deerfield Poll served its endevore a single salient point, it was the extent to which Canadians at year's end were feeling at once both anxious and optimistic.

—MARK MCGRAW

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# Low marks for the government

## POLITICS

**B**rute Brown, a respondent in the third annual Maclean's/Debra Poll, says that he believes Brian Mulroney's Conservatives may have already lost the next federal election. The 41-year-old maintenance supervisor in a Winnipeg hospital says that he used to trust Mulroney. But Brown adds that his opinion has faded. The turning point came on Oct. 26, when the Mulroney government defied voters of its own advisers, including military

officials, and awarded a billion-dollar contract for the maintenance of 19-18 fighter jets to Canadian Ltd. of Montreal instead of to a lower bidder, British Aerospace Ltd. of Winnipeg. Suddenly, even anti-leftist Conservatives in the West began complaining about the federal government. "There's going to be a lot of major changes in the next election," Brown predicted. "People are angry."

Indeed, the poll—conducted in early November as the furor over the C-18

contract raged—shows that displeasure with Mulroney is growing and that a majority of Canadians believe the overall performance of the government since the 1984 election has been at best mediocre. Forty-two per cent of the poll respondents said that they were dissatisfied with Mulroney's record—an increase of nine percentage points since The Maclean's/Debra Poll of a year earlier—while only 30 per cent declared themselves satisfied. At the same time, the latest poll showed that skepticism

over the Prime Minister's trustworthiness persisted at a high level. Analysis of the poll results indicated that the Prime Minister's staunch supporters tend to be young, francophone and from his native Quebec. His harshest critics are elderly, English-speaking Canadians in general and residents of economically depressed British Columbia in particular.

The Mulroney government as a whole fared only a little better when poll respondents were asked to grade it. Only

14 per cent of those polled were sufficiently dissatisfied to assign the government's overall performance an F. Still, 68 per cent rated the government with a C or D, while only 17 per cent gave the Tories an A or B. The biggest fans of the government tend to be recent Conservatives, people living in rural areas and in the Atlantic provinces. Its harshest critics are pensioners, city dwellers and British Columbians.

What the poll reveals broadly indicates, noted Bruce Anderson, Debra's vice-president of public affairs research, is that Canadians see "less than happy but also less than apocalyptic." If, as conventional wisdom holds, a mid-term ebb in public impressions of a government is normal and in fact what we are witnessing, then the depths of this ebb are not disastrous for the government. In other words, there is still time for the Mulroney government to reverse its political fortunes in time for the next federal election, which is expected in 1988 or 1989. The Maclean's/

Debra Poll confirmed the findings of recent public opinion polls showing that the Tories are indeed in trouble. Despite intense battles within the Liberal party over John Turner's leadership, the Conservatives have been trailing the Liberals ruthlessly in opinion polls for several months. At the same time, the New Democratic Party has attained historic highs in the polls, setting up the possibility of a three-way race in many areas in the next election.

For the most part, political scientists told the Maclean's/Debra Poll that the government's current low standing is the result of ineptness, bad judgment, a lack of vision and unreasonably high expectations on the part of Canadians who gave the Tories a landslide election victory 28 months ago. These experts tended to agree that the Conservatives must seek ways to regain public favor, or face the prospect of electoral defeat. The Mulroney government, said Paul Tennant, associate professor of political science at Vancouver's University of British Columbia, are "in very serious trouble. Every time they try to do something in a major way, it seems to blow back in their faces."

When respondents to The Maclean's/Debra Poll were asked to rate the government's performance, the government did not win high marks in any of the five key areas, ranging from its relationship with the United States to its accomplishments in the economic arena. That did not surprise Ian Stewart, professor of political science at Acadia University in Wolfville, N.S. "I would think," said Stewart, "that on virtually every one of those categories the government is likely to go down in the future. It's difficult to see any positive signal for the Tories over the next little while."

In the poll, respondents awarded the lowest grades of all for the government's ability to spend tax dollars wisely, with only 16 per cent awarding an A or a B. There were 52 per cent of the respondents who gave Ottawa a D or an F, and 28 per cent a C. The government got only slightly better marks—18 per cent gave an A or a B—when the question was whether the Conservatives are making government work more efficiently. Forty per cent awarded a C, while 41 per cent gave the government a D or an F.

The government fared better when respondents were asked to rate its ability to manage relations with the United States. Twenty-six per cent of respondents gave the government an A or a B and 34 per cent a C, while 21 per cent awarded a D and 19 per cent marked the government a failure in



Grading the federal government's overall performance, A to D and F for failure

<b>A</b>	<b>1%</b>
<b>B</b>	<b>16%</b>
<b>C</b>	<b>44%</b>
<b>D</b>	<b>24%</b>
<b>F</b>	<b>14%</b>

Poll percentages on this and following pages have been rounded and may exclude the "no opinion" and "other" categories. Totals may not add up to 100 per cent.

managing relations with Washington. According to Decima's Anderson, one factor reflected in these results is "the still-strong support in principle that Canadians voice for the enhanced trade initiative with the United States, even though concerns on that front have grown substantially during the years."

When they were asked whether the Mulroney government is helping to improve Canada's economy, almost one-quarter (24 per cent) gave the government an A or a B, 39 per cent rated the government at C and 32 per cent at D, while 36 per cent felt that the efforts deserved an F.

Reflecting the preponderance of C grades in the government's report card, Perry Jackowski, a 30-year-old poll respondent in Marshall, Sask., told

not shared by most poll respondents, the Prime Minister's overall performance harshly. For Mulroney, who led his party in September, 1984, to a landslide parliamentary majority, the fall from grace has been dramatic. Only 30 per cent of respondents said that they were satisfied with his performance, compared with 77 per cent in 1983, while the percentage of respondents who were dissatisfied went to 42 per cent from 33. Fewer than one in three respondents—roughly the same proportion as in the poll taken in 1985—said that they were neutral on the Prime Minister's overall performance. When respondents were asked to rate Mulroney's performance, compared with that of his predecessors, in improving the economy and creating jobs, 54 per cent said that he is doing a

that, monthly, he's got to crash."

The negative reasons drop in satisfaction with Mulroney's performance was in the area of his perceived ability to help "the country work together." Twenty-five per cent of respondents felt that Mulroney is doing a worse job than previous prime ministers, compared with only 18 per cent who said the same thing a year ago. The percentage of those who thought that he has done a better job dropped to 34 from 51. A vast majority—81 per cent this year and 52 per cent last year—said he is doing about the same job as his predecessors. That was reflected in the assessment of Louis Ledwain, 24, a rock-music composer and singer from Quebec City. He rated the Mulroney government's overall performance at a C. Rand Le-



Technicians service a CF-18 plane; criticism of a contract award and a decline in satisfaction with the government

Anderson's that the Mulroney government is generally doing "an adequate job." Jackowski is an unemployed drilling technician, and he cited unemployment as the country's biggest problem. But he said that he believes the public is judging Mulroney too harshly and too quickly. Said Jackowski: "Mulroney needs time to get his point of view across. They didn't give Joe Clark enough time and he deserved more of a chance."

But that willingness to give Mulroney the benefit of the doubt was

better job, while the same percentage felt that he is doing worse and 52 per cent said that he is doing about the same.

Stephen Page, a political scientist from Queen's University in Kingston, Ont., said that he blamed Mulroney's ratings on his inability to deliver the changes that the electorate expected would take place under a Conservative government. Said Page: "When a guy gets a landslide victory and everybody's hopes are raised and then suddenly for one reason or another, it seems to me

frustration, who goes by the stage name Kaiser Fisk. "The names of the parties are different, but there's not a lot of difference between the ideas," Brian Mulroney or Pierre Trudeau, it's all the same to me."

For the most part, older Canadians were tougher in their judgments of the Mulroney government. In rating Mulroney's efforts to make the country work together, almost 44 per cent of the Canadians over 55 who were polled said that Mulroney is doing a worse job than did his predecessors,

## The calls that a PM should take

Some Canadians believe that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has misused priorities while taking telephone calls in his office. Respondents to The Maclean's poll were presented with a hypothetical situation in which four people—a foreign leader, a business leader, an "important" journalist and a religious leader—telephoned the Prime Minister simultaneously. In two questions, the respondents were asked whose call Mulroney should take first, and then whose call they thought he would take first.

The results, in percentages:

	Should	Would
FOREIGN LEADER	96%	44%
BUSINESS LEADER	26%	34%
JOURNALIST	7%	6%
RELIGIOUS LEADER	10%	8%

Clearly, the respondents felt that Mulroney pays more attention to business leaders and journalists than he should—and less in foreign and religious leaders. And there were different priorities among the

respondents. People 65 and over, those with less education and those in low-income groups thought calls from religious and business leaders were more important than did younger, better educated and more affluent respondents.

These responses add a good deal about Canadian politics. Brian Mulroney's scale of values. But what about the Prime Minister's actual telephone habits? While staffers in the Prime Minister's Office refused to discuss the matter in any detail, they were willing to answer questions. When asked whether Mulroney talked to most on the telephone, two most confident answers gave the same answer: "Yes."

won, compared with the 32 per cent in the sample at large. Conversely, the younger the respondents, the more willing they were to give credit to the Prime Minister. Only 18 per cent of respondents aged 18 to 24 said that Mulroney was doing a worse job than his predecessors in office.

Better-off Canadians also tended to give Mulroney higher marks. Among people earning \$20,000 or more, 30 per cent said that Mulroney was doing a better job, while only 17 per cent said that he was doing a worse job. But, among Canadians earning under \$20,000, only 23 per cent said that he was doing a better job than his predecessors, while 29 per cent claimed that he was doing a worse job. Respectively, Mulroney's ratings got better the further east the pollsters moved. While only about 37 per cent of British Columbians surveyed said that Mulroney was doing a better job than his predecessors, 26 per cent of those polled in the four Atlantic provinces declared that he was doing a good job.

For the most part, the variations in support for Mulroney appear to reflect reactions to his government's earlier political and economic decisions. Many elderly Canadians, and especially women, criticized the Prime Minister in 1985 when the government tried to remove some of the protection against inflation built into old-age pensions



Mulroney, mediocre grades from surveys with high expectations

On the other hand, generous tax breaks, including a \$500,000 once-in-a-lifetime exemption from the tax on capital gains, endeared Mulroney to well-to-do Canadian Conservatives. Some have suggested that the reasons for Mulroney's unpopularity in British Columbia include changing commodity prices and the fact that the province has not fully recovered from the recession of the early 1980s. As well, British Columbia has traditionally retained significant pockets of non-supporters, and Liberal Leader John Turner, the

re-elected third in governing. "Last year, there was still the honeymoon," added Laid. "But the sword of the new-ness to Canada—rather than Brian—was very disappointing." For Laid and many other Canadians, the honeymoon is definitely over. What remains to be decided at the next election is whether issues such as the C-18 controversy are merely Laid's quibble, or harbingers of an impending divorce.

—PAUL GREGG, with JEFF BRITTLHAUP in Ottawa



Stuart Martin, idealism wears off and you have to work within the system

## Tempering the old idealism

### ATTITUDES

**S**tuart Martin, 35, is in the final year of a master's degree in psychology at Dalhousie's Dalhousie University and he is not quite as idealistic as he was a few years ago. He still worries about the dangerous stand-off between the world's superpowers. But personal encounters with U.S. citizens over the years have caused him to feel less critical of the United States than he once did, and to support the idea of free trade with that country—at least in principle. "I used to be idealistic," Martin told Maclean's. "Now I am more concerned with earning a living." But he still says that he considers him-

self politically "to the left of neutral." His diminished idealism, Martin added, so far has not led him to sacrifice any of his principles. Martin's ambivalence mirrors the attitudes of most of his fellow respondents in the 1986 Maclean's/Dominion Poll.

The answers to a series of questions that examined people's ideals and their actual experiences in life showed Canadians to be a principled, moderate people. But most of the respondents acknowledged that they are less idealistic than they once were. Some significant regional differences emerged: Quebecers of both main linguistic

groups and francophones in other parts of the country expected a greater degree of openness than did anglophones and Canadians in other parts of the country. French-speaking Canadians said that they had been more inclined to move to the left of the political spectrum than anglophones said that they had turned right. And comparing party preferences and principles, Liberals and members of the New Democratic Party were more likely than Conservatives to say that they have sacrificed their principles in order to succeed in life.

Overall, 57 per cent of

those polled said that they had become less idealistic and more practical in their political views. Said Robert Hamilton, 34, a Toronto politician, who calls himself an "occasional" idealist: "Idealism wears off. You have to work within the system." But Hamilton still performs at meetings for peace groups.

For many Canadians, abandoned ideals were associated with lowered

rights in their chosen careers. Bonnie Foster, 32, who works part time at a Halifax beauty parlor, says that she accepts that three years of university and a Nova Scotia Institute of Technology training course did not guarantee her the job she wants—caring for handicapped children. Said Foster: "As you grow up you discover it is not that easy to do the things you wanted."

Although the poll indicates that Canadians may have tempered their ideals, most respondents did not admit to any sacrifice of their principles. Asked to what extent they sacrificed principles in order to succeed, 44 per cent of Canadians polled answered either "not at all" or "not too much." More male respondents said that they had compromised their principles (43 per cent) than women (39 per cent). An Patricia Chisholm, 35, an Edmonton office worker with two children in public school, observed, "I have never worked toward a career, so there was no backsliding."

More than one-third of Canadians, however, said that they have sacrificed their principles "sometimes" or "a great deal" in order to succeed or get things they wanted. Respondent Tom Caputo, 38, a Kelowna, B.C., real estate developer, for one, said that business dealings had "too often" forced

him to compromise principle. Caputo, who places himself on the right wing of politics, is the brother of former provincial legislative member Herb Caputo. Tom Caputo said that his compromises had to do with deals in which he had to acquiesce land to civic projects in order to win municipal re-election approval. "In my mind that was blackmail," said Caputo. "You knew it was morally wrong, but if you didn't do it, you didn't get your money."

The Maclean's/Dominion Poll attempted to test the linkage between declining

ideals and right-wing politics. An Bruce Anderson, Ottawa's vice-president for public affairs research, noted, "One of the theories which has been put forward for the success of conservative politics in England, the United States and Canada has been that the left-wing idealism of the

1960s has been replaced by a new, pragmatic conservatism."

The poll results suggested that while there may be considerable truth in that proposition, the impact is not likely to transform the face of Canadian politics in the near future. In all, 71 per cent of respondents reported that their political beliefs had not changed. Of those who had changed, 15 per cent had moved to the right and 13 per cent to the left. But the survey did point to significantly different trends among regions and language groups.

Quebecers of both main linguistic groups also were more likely than other Canadians to report that they had sacrificed principles "a great deal" or "sometimes"—46 per cent versus a national average of 36 per cent. As well, the Quebec respondents were most likely to report a loss of political idealism. Mario

Lapointe, 35, a former labor union activist and Parti Québécois member, is now a teacher in Québec City and says that he is political. "I don't believe in the seven golden principles don't but. It's time to dream about something, but I don't have the energy any more to fight for social principles."

More generally, respondents living west of Québec said the country in political movements. Westerners were the most likely to say that they have become more idealistic about politics—10 per cent versus a national average of less than eight per cent—and the least likely to report sacrificing their principles. They were also more willing than other Canadians to contemplate running for office. British Columbia was typical with more than 24 per cent of its residents reporting a willingness to run, compared with fewer than 15 per cent of all Canadians—and barely one person in 10 among Quebecers.

But most Canadians would share public life in a career. Asked to choose one field among eating, sports, politics, business and writing in which they would most want to be successful, barely six per cent of the respondents chose politics. And only about half as many women as men would run for office.

Both trends worry political professionals. Iona Campagnolo, former national Liberal party president, for one, predicted, "It will take between 10 and 50 elections to see an equality [of the sexes] in the House of Commons." Gary Chelley, a Québec City member of Conservative candidates in the 1984 federal election and now an Ottawa-based lobbyist, noted a deeper dismay: "My greatest concern for the future is the growing inability of any party to attract candidates of quality. If we are not going to get the winners, we are going to be governed by losers."

Still, the survey results indicated that there is a Canadian consensus on what makes an ideal political candidate. With only slight variations by region, age, sex or language, 64 per cent of respondents chose "good ideas to solve problems" as the most important asset for a candidate seeking office. "Ambition and energy" were the choice of a further 39 per cent. At the bottom of most Canadians' list came fame, money and an impressive background—the qualities often considered essentials of electoral success in the age of television. That lesson has been absorbed by the minority of poll respondents who placed their faith in the electoral impact of money, good looks and fame; these three were reported to be almost twice as likely as other Canadians to consider running for political office.

—CIBBY WOOD



Martin politically left of neutral but concerned with earning a living



U.S. trade negotiator Peter Murphy and, right, Canadian counterpart Brian Mulroney nervously about Ottawa's anxiety

# Uneasy over free trade

TRADE

More than once in its history, Canada has come close to securing a free trade arrangement with the United States. In 1912, after the U.S. Congress approved a proposed free trade treaty with Ottawa, fear of the political and cultural consequences led to the defeat of Prime Minister Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal government. In this another Liberal, Prime Minister William Lloyd Mackenzie King, shelved a draft free trade agreement secretly worked out by Canadian and U.S. officials. According to the latest *Maclean's*/Demos Poll, Canadians still feel ambivalent about free trade. While a majority of those polled expressed support for Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's free trade initiative, there was also a growing uneasiness. Said Demos's public affairs research vice-president, Bruce Anderson: "The Canadian public shows signs of having reacted to the events of the year with a mixture of fear and caution."

Asked to evaluate the latest efforts to negotiate a widened trading ar-

rangement with the United States, 67 per cent of the poll respondents said that it was either a "good idea" or a "very good idea." But that was an eight-point decline from the number who expressed the same opinion in 1985. According to Demos's analysis, the change indicated "clear evidence of growing concern on the part of Canadians." Thirty per cent of those polled said they felt that free trade was a "bad idea." At the same time, a majority of respondents said that the protectionist measures that Washington took against Canadian products in 1988 "should make us more anxious" for a trade deal.

The ups and downs of the Canada-U.S. trade relationship in 1986 may help to explain some of the concern. Coinciding with the start of free trade negotiations between the two countries last spring, the Reagan administration began imposing tough new protectionist tariffs on Canadian exports, including cedar shakes and shingles and softwood lumber. In return, Canada raised imports of U.S. goods, including books and cars. After Washington

penalized the cedar exports, Mulroney remarked that "actions like this make it extremely difficult for anyone, including Canadians, to be friends with the Americans."

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the poll findings on free trade was the lack of confidence in the ability of Canada's negotiators to get a good deal from Washington. Fifty-three per cent of the respondents were "concerned" about Ottawa's ability to bargain effectively—a 16-point increase from last year. Said respondent Preston Menzies, who is a shipper in a Kitchener, Ont., skate factory: "Whatever the Americans give, they are going to take back with the other hand." That concern, noted Demos's Anderson, represented "one of the most startling changes to have occurred over the past year in Canadian perceptions."

A similar but less extreme shift was registered in expectations about how a widened trade arrangement would affect employment. In 1985, 94 per cent of respondents to *The Maclean's*/Demos Poll said that a free trade deal would

create more jobs. But in the latest survey only 34 per cent held that view. In fact, there was roughly an even split among respondents who said that there would be more jobs, those who said that there would be fewer jobs (33 per cent) and those who said that there would be about the same number (33 per cent).

At the same time, the growing uneasiness among Canadians over freer trade generally appeared to be offset by a firming of opinion among those who support the idea. Asked whether "we should seriously think about backing away from the free trade talks," only 30 per cent of respondents agreed. A far larger number—41 per cent—said that they felt that recent protectionist

action in Congress "should make us more anxious to get a trade agreement with the United States." Said Albert Wells, a retired customs superintendent who lives in Surrey, B.C.: "We must plod away at it, because we are a majority against 350 million people." Protectionist actions taken by Washington in 1988 may have strengthened some people's belief in the benefits of free trade. Concluded Anderson: "It was apparently the only element of the debate which had the effect of strengthening support for the trade initiative."

When the poll researchers analyzed regional or demographic differences of opinion on free trade, they found no significant changes from the 1985 poll results. In 1985 the strongest support was among Atlantic residents, Canadians in the 18-to-24-year-old age group, and those who vote Conservative most of the time. The weakest support came from Saskatchewan residents, respondents over the age of 55 and those who usually vote for the New Democratic Party.

One striking discovery that emerged this year was among respondents who described themselves as Liberal or NDP supporters; there is still significant support for the free trade initiative in general. Despite NDP Leader Ed Broadbent's opposition to free trade, only half of those who identified themselves as NDP supporters fully rejected the idea of free trade negotiations. And 65 per cent of those identifying themselves as Liberals supported the general idea



Mozgo: 'Whether the Americans give, they are going to take back'

of pursuing a free trade deal with Washington.

The survey also found that those most in favor of free trade were rating the better-educated in the sample and those earning higher incomes. Nineteen per cent of respondents with an-

iversity education—compared to 12 per cent of all respondents—said that free trade was a "very good idea." But support was significantly lower among those who had taken some high school courses (30 per cent) or those who had gone no further than elementary school (38 per cent).

Optimism about the job-creation potential of free trade also broke down according to income levels. Forty-three per cent of those earning \$30,000 or more a year, compared to only 34 per cent of all poll respondents, said that they thought free trade would create more jobs. Only 30 per cent of those earning \$16,000 a year or less agreed with that assessment. Perry Jusikowski of Marshall, Ark., said he believed that free trade would create new jobs, but expressed concern that some Americans would try to take advantage of Canadians "to make sure they get the better of the deal."

For the Mulroney government, the increasing concern about free trade, as well as the continuing political debate over Washington's protectionist measures, enlarges the political difficulties—and risks—of one of its major policy initiatives. Indeed, pessimism about the possibility of achieving a politically acceptable free trade, and probably envisioned as a result of last month's U.S. Senate elections, which were held just as the *Maclean's*/Demos survey was being taken. In the elections, the Democrats—who are even more protectionist-minded than their Republican colleagues in Congress—won majorities in both the Senate and the House of Representatives.

Under the terms laid down by Congress last May to give U.S. negotiators so-called "fast-track" authority in the free trade talks, the two sides must have worked out a draft agreement by January, 1988, a deadline that some observers feel is unrealistic. Last summer Mulroney himself admitted that his "ask is on the line" over free trade. And the findings of *The Maclean's*/Demos Poll suggest that a growing number of Canadians share precisely that sense of anxiety, and risk, over the issue.

—MICHAEL BONE

			
Feelings about current negotiations for a more open trading agreement with the United States		1986	1985
GOOD IDEA	67%	75%	
BAD IDEA	30%	23%	
Are the Americans better trade bargainers or will the Canadians bargain firmly and effectively?		1986	1985
AMERICANS BETTER	53%	37%	
CANADIANS EFFECTIVE	46%	61%	
Assessing the likely impact of a new Canada-U.S. trade agreement on employment in Canada		1986	1985
MORE JOBS	34%	44%	
NO DIFFERENCE	32%	32%	
FEWER JOBS	33%	21%	





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# A question of identity

CULTURE

**A**lthough Canadians need increased patriotism in The McGraw-Hill's Debra Poll about the fate of Canada's trade talks with the United States, more than two-thirds of those questioned said that they felt their national identity would not be jeopardized by a closer relationship. The rest of the respondents—one in three—said that closer trade ties with the United States could erode Canada's unique qualities, so that Canadians eventually would become "more like Americans."

These differences framed a long-standing debate that has emerged with new force as the free trade issue. On one side are those who contend that Canada's identity is secure enough to withstand close commercial relations with the United States, including open cross-border competition in the manufacturing and cultural industries. On the other side are those who claim that preserving the Canadian identity depends in large part on protecting homegrown cultural enterprises in publishing, broadcasting and the arts. Michael Walker, head of the Vancouver-based Fraser Institute, said that he was not at all surprised by the poll results. "Culture is a personal thing," said Walker. "It is absolutely nonsense to believe our government can protect our identity." But Malcolm LeMaster, former president of the Toronto-based Association of Canadian Publishers, said, "I find it very disconcerting that many people don't make the link between protecting our cultural policies and our national identity. If there were no Canadian publishing, film or magazine industries, there would be no identity. I guess there has been getting the message across."

Debra said the question about trade and national identity to test the strength of cultural protectionism among Canadians. Said Debra, vice-president Bruce Anderson. "It is very easy to get this showing. Canadians are afraid their culture can be threatened. So we designed a question that pushed against the conventional 'fear argument,' a little bit—forcing people to listen to the counterargument more closely than they usually do."

The exact wording of the question—"Some people say they worry that having a closer trade relationship with the

United States will eventually make us lose our unique qualities as Canadians and become more like Americans. Others say that other countries have close trading relationships without losing their cultural identity and there is no reason to assume that we as Canadians would lose ours as a result of having a closer trade agreement with the United States. Which one of these two

don't reflect Canadian opinions and values. We have much in common with Americans, but not enough to justify merging our trading partners?"

In the cultural consciousness, some opponents of U.S.-Canada free trade criticized the framing of the question in the poll when it was read to them. Lester objected to its comparison to other countries. "In most cases, you are talk-



LeMaster of focus in Winnipeg: fears of foundation by U.S. television shows

points of view best reflect your own?"

Thirty-eight per cent chose the second option. Kenneth Brown, a 30-year-old sales clerk in Edmonton, told McGraw-Hill that he was not worried that Canadian culture would be jeopardized. Said Brown: "Artificial trade barriers create an artificial value for things. And subsidies just help some people put out mediocre stuff." He added that Canadian identity was more than a culture of books, films or television. "They don't really affect us that much—they are just a break," he said. Winnipeg's Terrence LaPere, a 37-year-old Manitoba government employee, was among the 32 per cent of the respondents who said that they were worried. Said LaPere: "We are already inundated with American magazines and television shows that

ling about countries with different languages," said Lester, "and language is a de facto barrier preventing a small country falling under a foreign country's cultural hegemony."

Other polls have elicited different responses to questions about the vulnerability of Canada's cultural industries. Last year a Debra survey for the federal department of communications showed that half of the Canadian population believes that American cultural products already pose a serious threat to Canada's sense of identity. Despite the debate about the role of culture in the free trade talks, The McGraw-Hill's Debra Poll indicates that Canada's cultural industries have not convinced a majority of Canadians that there is a direct link between national identity and the trade talks. ♦

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# A move toward self-reliance

## THE ECONOMY

In 1985 Manique Decelles, a 26-year-old Montreal college teacher, took a 20-per-cent pay cut as part of a provincial government austerity program. As a result of that pay cut, Decelles, who earns \$28,000 a year, is still making less than she earned in 1983. As a way of financing her favorite recreational activity—travel—she has taken on a second job

and peddling household goods, such as decorations and clothing, from her home.

Decelles and Dee were also among the small but growing number of Canadians questioned in *The Maclean's/Delella Poll* who indicated that they rely more on themselves for their economic well-being these days, rather than on government, business or

cost of these polled said that they looked to sources for their economic well-being, compared with 14 per cent in the 1983 poll. At the same time, poll respondents who named "other"—usually meaning themselves—rather than business, unions or government as the most important economic caretaker rose to 12 per cent from just per cent in both 1983 and 1984.

For some observers, those results appeared to confirm signs of a disillusionment with large organizations that has been growing among Canadians over the past decade. According to Richard Lippert, senior economic adviser at Toronto's C.D. Howe Institute, Canadians far more than Americans "have always had more faith in government to be a partner in running their affairs." Now, said Lippert, "people complain that the government does not share them the jobs or good salaries. It is a move away from corporate solutions to stand or fall on your own merits." Poll respondent Perry Hallie, a 30-year-old Torontoite who earns \$35,000 a year on a computer specialist, says that government is not doing enough to stimulate personal prosperity. Said Hallie: "People are pessimistic generally about the government because they do not have much control over its course of action."

That tendency toward pessimism may also reflect the economy's relatively sluggish performance in recent years, and uncertainty over future prospects. According to the Howe Institute, Canada's record of growth in real gross domestic product (GDP) and in total employment since the end of 1982 has in fact been stronger than in the United States, Japan or the European Economic Community. But according to the *Maclean's/Delella's* monthly *Economic* reports for October,

the GNP, after growing by 3.1 per cent in 1986, is expected to slow to just 2.5 per cent in 1987 before rising again to a rate of 3.0 per cent in 1988. At the same time, the bank predicted that inflation—which averaged 3.9 per cent in the year just ended—will decline slightly to 3.6 per cent in 1987.

Unemployment, which hovered at around 9.5 per cent throughout most of 1986, edged back up during the last



Finance Minister Michael Wilson: signs of a growing disillusionment with large organizations

teaching night school. Walter Dee, a 26-year-old Oshawa fireman who lives near Ayrview, N.B., has also taken up moonlighting. Dee's wife, Alice, works full time as a schoolteacher, and their combined incomes total \$22,800 a year. But Dee finds that that is not enough for his family of five, and he has tried various ways of bringing in a third income. The latest method: growing Christmas trees,

sales in the latest *Maclean's/Delella* Poll, for the second year in a row, the percentage of respondents who said they looked to government to protect their economic interests stood at 48 per cent—down from 49 per cent in 1984. Thirty-one per cent of the respondents said that they expected the business sector to look after their economic interests, down from 33 per cent in 1985. Only 13 per

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quarter of the year to 18 per cent, mainly because of setbacks in the energy sector, held bid by the worldwide slump in petroleum prices. The Royal Bank predicted that by 1995 the unemployment rate will decline only slightly to 9.4 per cent. Despite that, poll respondents showed less concern over unemployment than in previous years, with only 36 per cent of those surveyed rating it as the most important issue facing the country, compared with 45 per cent who thought it was most important in 1985 and 52 per cent in 1984.

For Erika Telich, a 51-year-old widow who lives in Chatham, N.S., 100 km east of Prince Albert, unemployment is still an important issue. "There are so many younger people who are unemployed—there is nothing for them to do," said Telich, a respondent in *The Morning/Evening Poll*. But the survey results suggested that other economic issues are beginning to concern many Canadians. Ten per cent of those polled named government spending and the federal deficit, estimated at \$32 billion for fiscal 1984-1985, as an overriding concern, compared with only five per cent who felt that way in 1985. Said poll respondent John Menard, a 58-year-old electrician in Buckingham, Que. "It is demoralizing, especially when the government gives billions away and you need it so badly."

The poll results also suggested that Canadians are becoming less optimistic about the long-term prospects for the economy. Only 30 per cent of those polled believed that the economy is in a period of long-term recovery—down significantly from the 38 per cent who thought that last year. At the same time, 33 per cent thought that the economy is making only a short-term recovery, compared with 37 per cent in 1986. And 36 per cent of the respondents said that the economy was not recovering at all, compared with 34 per cent in 1985. "People are not predicting the end," said Lepore, "but they are apprehensive, and they may be right. Although this is one of the longest recoveries we have had, it is also one of the slowest."

The recovery has also been one of the most unevenly distributed. The north, according to the Howe Institute, has been the cradle of "the dual economy"—a booming Central Canada and widespread stagnation in the other regions of the country. In Quebec and Ontario, the manufacturing and service industries flourished during 1986—partly as the result of strong exports to the United States. But Western Canada suffered from depressed prices for oil and natural

gas—which declined by up to 45 per cent in the first half of the year—and for grain and other commodities, including minerals and forest products.

A growing sense of gloom was evident among poll respondents in the economically depressed parts of the country. In British Columbia respondents were more inclined than people in other regions to say that the economy was not recovering at all. In 1986, 46 per cent of British Columbia respon-

bles of separating that from their estimates of their own economic circumstances. In the latest *Morning/Evening Poll*, 74 per cent of the respondents said that they were satisfied with their own economic situation, about the same as in 1985, when 72 per cent said the same thing. An even greater number—85 per cent—in the latest poll, compared with 69 per cent in 1985 and 1984—said that they were optimistic about their future personal financial prospects.

Respondents' satisfaction with their personal economic situation was highest in Ontario, where 86 per cent said they were satisfied, Quebec (74 per cent) and the Atlantic provinces (70 per cent). But in Western Canada there was a sharp decline in feelings about personal finances, with only 62 per cent of respondents in British Columbia reporting satisfaction, a sharp decline from 1985. Remarkably, feelings of optimism about personal economic prospects increased among respondents in all regions of the country except on the Prairies, where the percentage of optimism was about the same 52 per cent, compared to 50 per cent in the previous poll. Said Lepore: "The average person wants to work—and work creatively. Having a job or the prospect of a job is a necessary condition to being optimistic."

Other factors, such as political beliefs and age, clearly play a part in forming an individual's outlook. Lepore noted that with inflation now at modest levels, elderly Canadians feel that they are better off. That was borne out by the poll results. Fully 19 per cent of poll respondents who were 65 years of age or over said that they were very satisfied with their economic situation, compared with only 9.8 per cent of the total survey sample who felt that way.

Amidst some poll respondents, a hopeful outlook appeared to flow from a sense of self-confidence and a determination to rise above the constraints of an uncertain economy. Montrealer Declan, who teaches business administration, said that she is optimistic that she can do a lot to change her financial situation. "With my training I can find another job—a job that is better paying than teaching," she said. Not all Canadians are so lucky. For Menard, the poll respondent in Buckingham, Que., it is a struggle to save \$5,000 a year toward his retirement while paying for basic necessities. But in spite of that, he remained optimistic. Declared Menard: "I am going to travel and meet people and try to get away from the trends of life."

—PATRICIA BEST AND ADRI WILMSLEY



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Reagan and Gorbachev at Reykjavik: rather than risk nuclear war, many would opt to live under the Soviet system

## A growing fear of total war

### FOREIGN

**A**s many North Americans see it, the Soviet Union is a grim, oppressive state bent on world domination, a land of one party and no freedom, of oppressive police and an omnipresent secret police. At least that is the popular Western stereotype, perpetuated in the cold-warrior climate of the 1950s and resuscitated in the "evil empire" rhetoric of Ronald Reagan. But, according to *The Maclean's/Decca Poll*, many Canadians perceive an even more fearsome presence on the world scene. Asked to make the hypothetical choice between being con-

quered by the Soviets or having a nuclear war, 50 per cent of respondents said that they would rather live under Soviet rule, while 42 per cent said that they would rather risk nuclear war and seven per cent had no opinion. Declared respondent Loretta Bartlett, 46, who runs a small grocery store in Custer House, N.S.: "Anything is better than nuclear war."

Polls over the past several years have shown steady increases in Canadians' fear of total war and their concern about international tensions in general. In *The Maclean's/Decca Poll*

two years ago, 45 per cent of respondents said that they felt that a nuclear war was very or somewhat likely in their lifetime. The October summit between Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in Ireland raised hopes for dramatic reductions in nuclear arms. The results of the latest *Maclean's/Decca Poll*, taken just after the Reykjavik summit, reflect Canadians' uncertainty about what the summit's outcome meant. The poll also shows a marked rise of another international menace: terrorism.

But nowhere was public alarm more apparent than in the hypothetical choice between the risk of nuclear war and domination by the Soviet Union. "The chances for survival of a nuclear war are practically nil," said respondent Christopher Ballant, a 21-year-old student at McGill University in Montreal. "So as much as I'm in favor of our political system, I'd rather live under the Soviets in the hope that something could be changed."

Respondents who were more likely to choose Soviet rule over nuclear war included British Columbians—68 per cent compared to a national average of 50 per cent—Quebecers (58 per cent)

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and New Democrats (59 per cent). Among those more likely to risk nuclear war were Ontarians (56 per cent, compared to an average 48 per cent) and Progressive Conservatives (59 per cent). According to Bruce Anderson, Deane's vice-president of public affairs research, the narrowness of the split over the basic options suggested that, not surprisingly, people pulled out and agreed with either option.

Interestingly, when The Canadian Gallup Poll Ltd. asked a similar question in a 1988 survey, fully 60 per cent of respondents said that they would choose to fight a nuclear war, while only 11 per cent said that they would opt to live under a nuclear umbrella, and 29 per cent were undecided. Since then, awareness of the nuclear threat has been enlarged by public debates and such television dramatizations of nuclear destruction as the 1983 made-for-TV movie *The Day After*. And beyond mere perceptions, said Daniel Mulder, associate professor of politics at Brock University in St. Catharines, Ont., "both sides have more accurate weapons now. And so long as it's theoretically possible that they are so accurate, that brings a new note of uncertainty that didn't exist in the late 1960s or early 1970s." As a result, he reports, the choice between Soviet domination and nuclear war is increasingly viewed as one between bad or dead.

In that light, the Red option may have seemed somewhat more palatable, particularly at a time when Gorbachev is projecting a more open, liberal image for his country. "I don't think Soviet rule is all that bad," said respondent Alexander Herr, 35, an unemployed former military policeman. "But now we're invited to the table and you still get to live. There just isn't as much capitalism and freedom." Added Rhonda Fournell, a Calgary auto mechanic: "It's probably the same as it is here, when you get right down to it—in a guy bringing home bread to his family." Herr, said Rhonda Thorne, a 27-year-old actor and bartender in Montreal: "He speaks to people who have been there, and it doesn't seem to be a very healthy place to live."

What was right not to give up Star Wars, compared to 60 per cent among Ontarians, 42 per cent among Progressives, Conservatives and 44 per cent among male respondents. On the other hand, 60 per cent of respondents said that Reagan should have gone up and, with 47 per cent in Quebec expressing

the sentiment would offer the chances for an arms control agreement. About seven per cent said that an agreement was more than likely, 42 per cent said that it was a little more likely, 35 per cent said that it was a little less likely and 12 per cent said that it was much less likely. The respondents who said that Reagan should not have traded away Star Wars were also more likely to be optimistic about the outcome of the summit, while those who disagreed with Reagan's decision were more pessimistic. Mulder noted that summits often take on an emblematic value, providing a dramatic single event from which people can generalize. "It is a good moment," he said, "people think this will be a new era of harmony. But if it is a bad outcome, people think, 'Now we're really in for it.'" The Iceland summit, however, was inconclusive—and so was the public reaction to it.

The Canadians polled were also divided in their attitudes about terrorism, which has caused a decline in Canadian tourist travel to Europe over the past year. Fully 52 per cent of respondents said that they would probably avoid travelling in Europe and other areas where terrorist incidents have occurred. Among those more likely to skip so were women (59 per cent), people from the Atlantic provinces (64 per cent) and those from lower-income groups and rural parts of the country (57 per cent). "It's probably because we're from a smaller area," said Newfoundland's Bartlett, who devoted against taking a European tour two years ago because of concerns about terrorism. "We are not used to big cities and big airports, and we're just scared."

On the other hand, 48 per cent said that they would not let concerns about terrorism affect their travel plans. The most pessimistic in this category included men (56 per cent), single people (64 per cent) and those in higher-income groups. Bartlett of McGill, who is, in a sense, said that although he has not yet been to Europe, "if the opportunity presented itself I would hop at it and be gone. Tomorrow I don't think we should let the terrorists run our lives."

Still, the poll clearly shows that many Canadians look upon the world at large with divided dread. And the potential for a nuclear war—even when viewed against the worst-case scenario of Soviet conquest—remains public enemy No. 1. Nothing that happened at the Iceland summit has changed that. Rather, it has only deepened the unease, leaving Canadians aware whether the world is now closer to harmony—or disaster.

—DOON LEECH



that opinion, 50 per cent among New Democrats and 47 per cent of women. Daniel Mulder, a political science professor at the University of British Columbia, said: "It's there's an idea that outside like it's weapons weren't there there will always be a greater gap. And men get more enamored with technology, with technology."

Respondents split evenly over how

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# Revealing secret dreams

SPORTS

**S**ometimes when Donald Higginbottom is on his skates in hockey arenas near his home in Canton, Ont., he imagines himself as a superstar. "I'm playing for the Toronto Maple Leafs," Higginbottom recounts. "It's the overtime in the seventh game of the Stanley Cup at Maple Leaf Gardens in front of 16,500 screaming fans. The Ed-

monton Oilers have a power play and Wayne Gretzky passes the puck to Paul Coffey at the blue line. I'm playing left defense, and when Coffey winds up for a slap shot, I slide out and block it. The puck bounces off to centre ice and, with Coffey and Gretzky chasing me, I pick it up and head for the net. I can hear them cheering behind me, but I'm too fast. Great! Fehr comes out of the Oiler goal toward me. I flinch to the right, but then fire a low wrist shot past him into the net—and we win the cup."

Higginbottom, 30, like many other respondents to The Maclean's/Dominion Poll, has his dreams. The assembly-line supervisor for Chrysler Canada Ltd., who has played hockey since boyhood, still plays for an adults team, the Kestrel Blades, in tournaments in nearby Windsor, Ont., and other towns in the region. The self-confessed Ottawa dreamer is among one in five Canadians who fantasize, the poll indicates, about gaining the glory—and riches—based on star athletes.

When poll respondents were invited to imagine that they could achieve world-class success in one of five fields—acting, business, politics, sports or writing—21 per cent chose sports. Business was the first choice, at 38 per cent. Followed by writing, at 30 per cent. Acting was favored by 11 per cent and politics trailed at six per cent.



Higginbottom in action fantasizing about the glory gained by stardom

Colleen, 16, a premedical student at Memorial University in St. John's, Nfld., who likes hockey but loves baseball. "In Newfoundland I don't have much chance to see baseball live, but I have been to Toronto and Montreal to see it there. My dream would be to pitch a perfect game. Yes, that would be pretty good."

Still, for most sports-minded Cana-

dians, hockey retains its magic. And while 27 per cent of Canadian males surveyed dream of hockey stardom, seven per cent of women respondents had the same vision. Nor are the men alone in their thoughts of baseball success: 13 per cent of the women favored baseball stardom, compared with 17 per cent of the men. But overall, Canadian women

prefer individual sports—including swimming and tennis—while the men favor the team sports.

The poll results also parallel Canadian professional football's decline in popularity, going along with a dramatic decline in 1994 attendance at Canadian Football League games in Eastern Canada and a smaller slump in the West. Among the top six sports of choice in The Maclean's/Dominion Poll, football ranked last in Ontario (four per cent), Quebec (one per cent) and the Atlantic provinces (one per cent). But in the Prairie provinces football ranked third (eight per cent) behind hockey and baseball. And in British Columbia it came fourth (seven per cent), after hockey, swimming and tennis.

But from the hinterlands to the sprawling cities, Canadians harbor thoughts of superstardom in an eclectic range of endeavors from bowling to bullfighting, from cycling to car racing. One respondent even chose cribbage.

Across Canada, fewer respondents wanted to end in disaster or even-occurrence—97 individuals in all—than in swimming (158) or tennis (122). Fewer favored stardom in figure skating (58) than in golf (64), or in sailing (30) than in soccer (41). In a winter country, those near snowed in residents that winter. Canadians simply dream of a longer summer.

—DALE QUINN

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# Divergent views on religion

RELIGION

**P**ope John Paul II travels the world, admonishing the wicked and exhorting the faithful to renew their commitment to the Roman Catholic Church. On television screens across North America, a new generation of evangelists flourishes the Bible and preaches old-style fundamentalism in a chattering competition for souls and viewers. Anne Skyles, 45, becomes the first lay woman elected

moderator of the United Church of Canada and vows to bridge the gap between the national church and ordinary worshippers. In Lebanon, Terry White, a personal emissary of the Archbishop of Canterbury, is credited with obtaining the release of hostages. Religion, from all indications, is as a hot-aggressive, active and pervasive. But that message has not yet impressed many Canadians, according to the latest annual

Maclean's/Dominion Poll.

The poll found that the subject generated almost as much division as it did division in a broad range of categories. The poll's key results:

- The number of Canadians who say that religion has become more important in their lives is roughly equal to the number who say it has become less so.
- Only among people 45 and over was there a plurality for whom religion has increased in importance during the past several years.
- Religion is losing ground in the cities and gaining in rural areas.
- Canadians with the highest incomes and the best education are the least interested in religion. At the same time, 42 per cent of the women but only 33 per cent of the men said religion had become more important.

Overall, the poll yielded little for organized religion to cheer about. Asked whether, during the past several years, religion had taken on greater importance in their lives, 40 per cent of respondents across the country replied



The Pope with other religious leaders at World Day of Prayer for Peace in Assisi, Italy, in October divides

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that it had become more important. But roughly the same number—39 per cent—said that religion is less important. Perhaps even more surprising was the nation's church leaders who re-  
 religion's third-place finish nationally behind family and career as the most important thing in life. 77 per cent ranked family, 71 per cent their work and only 69 per cent religion.

Asked their opinion on declining church attendance, nearly half (49 per cent) of those who took part in the poll said that they were comfortable with the trend. Forty-seven per cent said that trend made them uncomfortable. Seventy-three per cent of the respondents said that the growing number of television evangelists bothered them. Of the remainder, only two per cent were "very comfortable" with the increased number of preachers on their TV screens. Poll respondent Alan Kelly of Belleville, Ont., a 38-year-old employee of an electronics firm, told *Weekend*: "They make me feel very uncomfortable, pretending that they can heal and save." In contrast to that attitude toward TV evangelists, the parallel phenomenon of "born-again" believers made only 42 per cent of it an issue, while 54 per cent reported feeling comfortable.

Religion scored far better with the tall survey group when it came to questions that involved other segments of the community. Seventy per cent said that they were satisfied with the way their own denomination looked at social and moral issues. And 82 per cent believed that their own faith was involved to the right extent in social or moral issues. Asked whether their religion was either too liberal or too conservative when it came to these issues, nearly two-thirds (65 per cent) said they were content with the status quo.

Those who said that their own religion was too conservative outnumbered by 3 to 1—36 per cent to eight per cent—those who held the view that it was too liberal. Respondent Rosemary McIsaac of Edmonton, a 37-year-old kindergarten teacher and a Roman Catholic, said that she did not subscribe to all of her church's views: "I disagree with priests not being able to marry, and on the abortion issue I agree only in some ways," said McIsaac, who is married and has two children.

On issues involving church and the schools, there were deep divisions. Fifty-six per cent said that they were comfortable with the role played by the schools in religious education, but 42 per cent said that they were uncomfortable. And when asked what they thought of the degree to which the schools are involved in religious education, 46 per cent said that the schools are involved to the right extent.

Those who said that the church was too involved were outnumbered more than 3 to 1—36 per cent to 16 per cent—by respondents who said that they thought the schools should be more closely involved. Respondent Carol Klupach, a 30-year-old Scarborough, Ont., registered nurse and the



How respondents feel personally about the changing importance of religion in their lives.



How respondents feel about the increasing number of evangelists appearing on television.



How respondents feel about the declining number of people attending religious services.



mother of two children, said, that schools should offer more religious education. Said Klupach: "Children need a feeling of something else besides Mom and Dad, home and family." But Joseph Bernheim of Fort McMurray, Alta., a Lebanese-born Roman Catholic and hotel employee, and the divorced father of two children, disagreed: "School has nothing to do with religion; it is for education."

Poll responses varied from region to region. While 57 per cent of the people in Atlantic Canada said that religion in recent years had become more important in their lives, only 36 per cent of those in British Columbia said that it had. That pattern corresponded to the finding that 40 per cent of British Columbians, the highest number in the land, were not bothered by declining church attendance. And barely Roman Catholic Quebec turned up the most nitpicks—46 per cent—for whom religion had come to matter less.

In the competition with career and family, religion was a distant third in every province. But it got the least support in the most important of the three interests in Alberta—three per cent—and Quebec, at four per cent. Only in Saskatchewan did religion reach double digits, 16 per cent.

On the issue of religious involvement in the school system, one-quarter of the people polled both in Manitoba and in Metropolitan Toronto said that religion was too involved—a possible reflection of the historical controversy in both regions over public funding for separate schools. But 46 per cent of Quebec respondents, whose personal indifference to religion topped the poll, said that the church was not involved enough in the school system.

Region by region across the country, there was a rough consensus in the reaction toward the increase in the number of television evangelists. 76 per cent of those in Ontario and that video preachers made them uncomfortable. The Atlantic provinces had the lowest discomfort index but it was still 64 per cent.

The poll provided interesting distinctions when the respondents were classified by income, education and political views. Nineteen per cent of those earning less than \$10,000 a year said religion had become "much more important" in their lives while only nine per cent making \$10,000 or more felt into that category. Religion was "much more important" to 18 per cent of those who had not gone beyond elementary school but to only eight per cent of the respondents with a university degree. And finally, 11 per cent of the self-proclaimed Liberals said religion was much more important, compared to nine per cent for both Tories and New Democrats.

In religion—as in politics, sex and other subjects—Canadians disagree. But some of the poll respondents intervened later by *Weekend*'s printed list that there is a common ground. Said Blake DeGraft of Red Deer, Alta., a 36-year-old separated mother of four children: "Everyone is born with a desire to find God."

—RAE CORRIE



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# 'And we have God'

## PROFILE

Richard Gaudreault's living room is her tiny green house in North Bay, Ont., is a testament to her faith. A quilted pioneer maples hangs above her husband Eugène's favorite armchair and an illustrated Bible adorns the home-made coffee table. For Gaudreault, 44, one of the respondents in *The Morning/Evening Mail*, spirituality is a fact of life in a community that is about 80 per cent Roman Catholic and traces its early history to Jesuit and Oblate missions. The rugged-looking Gaudreault and her husband sing in the choir at St-Vincent-de-Paul Catholic Church, and meet often after they are performing for at least 500. But despite the apparent enthusiasm for church life in her city, Gaudreault says that she is distanced about the wrong interest in religion among many Canadians, particularly the young. Said Gaudreault, "If people are taken with religion, they lose some of their values."

Gaudreault is among the 40 per cent of Canadians polled who said that religion was becoming a more important part of their lives. She anticipates that her involvement in religious pursuits will accelerate as other activities in her life dwindle. Right now, most of her energies are absorbed in studying to complete high school.

As well, she helps part of the week to supplement her husband's \$28,000-a-year salary from a job with a local industrial parts supplier. But Gaudreault maintains that when she finishes school and devotes more time to the church, she will find a new form of spiritual expression. Said Gaudreault, "I would like to accompany the priest in his work in the community and help make the lives of old people richer. I believe that the church is just like a home. Everybody has to work at it."

The church-inspired values that Gaudreault would share with those she views would be highly traditional. Although as many as 34 per cent of Catholics in the poll said that their church was too conservative in moral or moral issues, Gaudreault subscribes to Pope John Paul II's prohibition on everything from birth control pills and divorce to homosexuality in the priesthood. Said Gaudreault, "I like the church just the way it is. The only point I disagree with is that I believe priests should get married. Then, when they counsel people about family life, they would know what they are talking about."

Gaudreault's difficult childhood eased her to seek refuge in the church early in her life. Born in a seasonal farmhouse that owned a farm in the hamlet of River Val-

ley, 75 km from North Bay, Gaudreault and her two brothers and one sister struggled daily with poverty and violence. Said Gaudreault, "The only prospect of getting out was God." The family lived in a two-room log cabin without running water, electricity or a telephone. Gaudreault recalls that she was afraid of her mother, who sometimes beat the children severely. And she remembers that other children at school mocked her for being poor. Said Gaudreault, "They made us feel like we had a demon. But the saint would tell me to offer my heart to God and pray for those people."

At 15, Gaudreault left school and home, but remained close to the church. She worked as a housekeeper and babysitter for a local family and watched church services on television whenever her duties prevented her from attending church on Sundays. When she was 21 and living in North Bay, she married the man with whom she had once collided while lining up for communion.

Gaudreault is optimistic that many young people who have strayed from the church will return when they begin to raise a family. In her case, she and her husband talked regularly to their children about God. Said Gaudreault, "When you are bringing up children you



The Gaudreaults in church for traditional spiritual values.

want them to believe in something." The Gaudreaults claim that they have been successful in instilling in their children a belief in God. Luc, 32, a municipal police dispatcher in Ottawa, and Ronald, 30, an employee at a welding machine company in North Bay, say their prayers are regular, and Ronald, who lives at his parents' home, says the wall above him has his. Said Gaudreault, "We have lots of fun and warmth as a family and we have God."

Gaudreault is philosophical about the poll's findings that people like her, with lower levels of education and lower incomes, are more likely to say that religion has acquired a new significance in their lives. Said Gaudreault, "Maybe people who did not get the education they should have had are reaching out to God to fill the void." But she is worried that too many people who are seeking religious fulfillment are following TV evangelists. Said Gaudreault, "Those evangelists, it is like they are selling something, reaching a poor lost soul by showing him a miracle." Certainly it would take an extraordinary miracle to dislodge Gaudreault from her chair seat in the church of St-Vincent-de-Paul and the faith that she has held since childhood.

—ANN WALSHLEY

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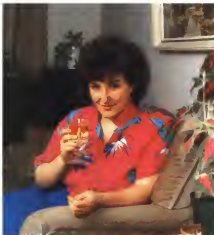
# Sex lives of Canadians

SEXUALITY

**A**uthor Pierre Berton once defined a Canadian as "somebody who knows how to make love in a canoe." But according to the findings of the third annual Maclean's/Decca Poll, only 58 per cent of adult Canadians say that they have had sex in any type of moving vehicle "such as a car, boat, train, plane or bus." One respondent, a 30-year-old male photographer from Rhinoceros, N.E., answered the question by saying "all of the above." Although he later requested anonymity, he told Maclean's that he had had intercourse in airplane washrooms, in the back seats of buses and even while driving a car at 300 km/h on the Trans-Canada Highway. His nautical adventures took place in ferryboat washrooms, but he said that he has never attempted anything in a canoe other than paddling. He added: "Actual intercourse is very awkward while dancing. But I tell you, it is exciting."

An analysis of computerized semi-structured interviews in this year's Maclean's/Decca survey pointed to some other fascinating insights about the sex lives of Canadians, including the fact that New Democrats apparently are more likely to prefer sex on Sunday than people who identify with other major political parties, and that members of the United Church of Canada are generally less sexually adventurous than adherents of other churches and faiths. In a more serious vein, the poll indicated that there has been a small but significant decline in Canadians' sexual activity over the past three years, probably attributable to fear of contracting AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome).

Responses to the Maclean's/De-



Forget 'somebody can go away from love and tenderness for an outrageous evening of sex'

cca survey also spoke up strongly in favor of the greater aspects of sexual activity. The poll asked whether individuals attached more importance to "being treated with love and tenderness or on acts of sexual fulfillment themselves." That was intended to provide a Canadian perspective on the celebrated question that syndicated columnist Ann Landers put to her female readers two years ago: "Would you be content to be held close and tended tenderly and forget about 'the act'?" Out of the more than 30,000 women who responded to Landers's question, almost

three-quarters opted for rekindling over "the act."

The Maclean's/Decca survey revealed an even stronger affirmative response: fully 92 per cent said that intimacy was more important than physical fulfillment. Women led men in expressing that view, but only by a slight margin. Interestingly, the preference for love and tenderness was almost as pronounced among younger Canadians between 18 and 24 as it was among more mature respondents. Indeed, the only significant divergence was expressed by students (only 86 per cent opted for love and tenderness)

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Ford

QUALITY IS JOB 1

and among French-Canadians (87 per cent). But some experts said that the question was not tough enough, and that asking people to make a hard choice between the two experiences would have yielded a more provocative response. Stud Toronto sex therapist Dr. Frank Sussman: "Very few people are going to opt for intercourse without affection. The more interesting question is, how many would forgo intercourse in the presence of coiffing?"

Even though the poll appeared to show that Canadians reject sex for its own sake, it uncovered a wide variety of more or less unconventional sex preferences. Most popular was sex outdoors, an experience that one in three people (37 per cent) claimed to have had. One in five (18 per cent) said that they had had sex in a moving vehicle, while almost as many (16 per cent) reported that they had made love in someone "considered a stranger." Only 10 per cent of the married Canadians surveyed admitted to adulterous relationships, while another nine per cent of married respondents chose not to answer. And just five per cent of the respondents said that they had tried "sex with more than one partner at the same time."

The poll findings appeared to bear out the belief that younger Canadians are more sexually liberated than their forebears. Indeed, the number of younger people who reported engaging in unconventional sex far outnumbered older respondents who said that they had. Among Canadians aged 18 to 34 who were polled, 39 per cent reported having had sex with a stranger, while one in 10 claimed that they had had sex with more than one person at a time. In sharp contrast to that, only four per cent of Canadians aged 60 and over said that they had had sex with strangers, and none reported experiencing sex with multiple partners.

In addition, men proved much more likely than women to admit to—or claim—such experiences. Two per cent of the males surveyed said that they had had four or more sex partners in the past year, while only two per cent of the women polled made that claim. On the question of sex with strangers, the tally was equally lopsided: 36 per cent of men versus 6.5 per cent of women. Moreover, men were twice as likely as women to describe themselves as "very sexually active." Part of the discrepancy

may probably be explained by sex traits that, for better or worse, are characteristic of Canadian society. According to Toronto-based radio and television sex counselor Simon Johnson, "Many women would never admit to having had sex with a stranger, while the men would all say that they

seriously, one-quarter of the respondents said that they were sexually inactive or not very active, compared with about one in five in 1991. The trend appeared to support Johnson's poll finding which indicated that fear of AIDS was dampening some Canadian sex lives.

As well, experts in the field of human sexuality have begun to report that, for various reasons, less of sexual desire is an increasingly frequent complaint among patients. But follow-up interviews with survey respondents, including those who opted for love and tenderness, indicated that sexual desire remains an important part of their lives. Carol Forget, a 25-year-old federal civil servant in Moncton, N.B., told Johnson's that "sometimes it is fun to get away from love and tenderness and just have an outrageous amount of sex." Added Forget: "You've got to have fun with sex. It can't be all mushy."

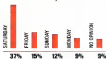
The latest poll also produced a number of tantalizing facts, or claims, about Canadian sexual habits. For the third time, Newfoundlanders led other Canadians in reported sexual activity, with more than one in three describing themselves as very active sexually, compared to 21.4 per cent of Prince Edward Islanders.

The poll also indicated that Canadians are surprisingly consistent about the days on which they choose to indulge in sex. Among those who did express a preference, almost nine out of 10 named either Friday, Saturday or Sunday as their favorite day. When respondents were asked about sex in moving vehicles, most of those who claimed to have had the experience told Johnson's in follow-up interviews that they were ahead of the game at the time. One of them, a 63-year-old retired postal clerk from Northern Ontario, described the experience enthusiastically: "You are running toward each other. Then all of a sudden, you can be flung against the wall and you wonder whether you will be flung out the window." For his part, Martin Robertson of Toronto thought so highly of the experience that he suggested "business men make a living promoting trains for couples. It might even bill out Via Rail."

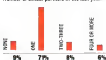
—JOHN HARRISON



Canadians' favorite day of the week for sex



Number of sexual partners in the last year



Self-assessments of level of sexual activity

	1996	1995	1994
VERY ACTIVE	10%	11%	14%
SOMEWHAT ACTIVE	34%	35%	30%
NOT VERY ACTIVE	16%	14%	17%
INACTIVE	3%	10%	10%

just knocked her right off her pins."

For the third consecutive year, The Maclean's/Decca Poll indicated a small but significant decline in the levels of reported sexual activity among Canadians. This year, 46 per cent of the respondents described themselves as either "very" or "somewhat" sexually active, compared with 53 per cent who were in those groups in 1995. Con-

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# A new view of sexuality

PROFILE

**A**s a young television producer on the make in 1979, Martin Robertson freely tasted the fruits of the sexual revolution then in full bloom. Indeed, he feared. But Robertson's hectic life eventually took its toll. He said that he "burned out" in his career and ultimately abandoned television altogether. He was equally disillusioned with his increasingly hollow love life. As a result, he remained celibate for 17 months, beginning in 1984. To his surprise he discovered that he could live happily without sex. And then he discovered another, even more powerful appetite—for a loving, one-woman relationship—and his views on sex have changed as radically as his behavior. "I don't need sex—I deny that it is a primary drive," he told *Maclean's*. "But I do need caring. I can't do without it."

Robertson, 43, was born in Britain but moved to Toronto from the United States in 1981 to make a fresh start in life. He said that he has only "succumbed" to his new career as a part-time consultant in the hospitality industry. But he remains absolutely certain about his newfound beliefs on sexuality, even though he and his lover, a French-Canadian teacher (a Toronto school who requested anonymity, have only lived together for one year) Robertson had no qualms describing himself in *The Montreal Mirror* as "not very sexually active." Indeed, he said that if a physical disability made sex impossible, his relationship would remain just as strong as it is now. He added, "That doesn't mean we don't have a great relationship. We just don't put sex at the top of the list."

Robertson said that he is as surprised by his sexual about-face as anyone else who knows him. But he added, "The very thought of living like I once did depresses me." He was first initiated into his earlier, more hectic sexual lifestyle by a woman he met in New York in 1978. "She was incredibly promiscuous," Robertson recalled. "She loved sex, but she was not ragged. She would leave my bed to visit an old lover, make love to him and then come back." Unfortunately for his sake, Robertson fell in love with the woman, an advertising executive.

"That relationship soon dissolved, but it left Robertson scarred from jealousy. 'You realize that your flesh can be raped,' he said. Although he has since rekindled his friendship with the woman, the experience led him to adopt a cautious attitude in subsequent involvements with

other women. He said that he became obsessed with staying on the "winning side" of his relationships. As a result, he says now, he was never able to ease for his partners.

But Robertson insists that the experiences he now discovers were important to him. Indeed, he sees them as valuable preparations for his current life. "Some people can only learn by experience," he declared. "Having gone through a period of self-education at every level, I only now have begun to understand what caring for someone means." He said that one of the reasons he is faithful now is because he has already satisfied his sexual curiosity, and added "I have come a long way via some quite strange routes. And at this point I have no more of those. There is no mystery left there."

Robertson also said that he is glad to be out of the sexual marketplace at a time when heterosexuals are increasingly at risk of contracting AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome). He said that he thinks presently today is "incredibly dangerous," though he added, "It was probably almost as dangerous and stupid 30 years ago."

Other aspects of modern sexuality also make Robertson wary. Although he has no children himself and no plans for any, he said he is troubled by some aspects of modern attitudes toward parenthood. The idea of women desiring sex without men just like

men, he said, is also concerned about what he considers to be the sexual exploitation of youth in advertising. "Our image of sexuality has become younger and younger," he said. "It is extraordinarily weird and a bit disturbing. I mean, thank God for Joan Collins."

Still, as a child of what sociologists at one time called "the permissive society," Robertson is not yet ready to embrace all of the traditional family values. For one thing, he says that the "semi-pornography" available to owners of video cassette recorders has been an important agent of sexual liberation. And although he said that he and his lover "just as if we are going to be together forever," they have made no plans to marry or to have children. Indeed, Robertson is still a beginner at monogamy. But he is enjoying the experience with the same enthusiasm that first propelled him into the front ranks of the sexual revolution 30 years ago.

—JOHN BARBER



Robertson and friend traveling "via some strange routes"

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Cleaves and her son, Christian: "Family can be a source of strength and self-esteem, or horrendously destructive."

## A new emphasis on the family

### FAMILY

Before they married nine years ago, Paul and Nancy Sexton of Chilliwack, B.C., agreed on a master plan. "We talked about the future and decided that we would take five years to get to know each other before we started a family," said Paul Sexton, 35, who teaches English at Agassiz Elementary-Secondary School. "Then we planned to have two children—three years apart." The Sextons stuck to their plan. Now, Nancy Sexton, 33, teaches English as a second language four nights a week to make time during the day for Biva, 4, and Jeffrey, 2. And like the overwhelming majority of respondents in the third annual Mackenzie/Dennis Poll, they

said that their family is becoming increasingly important to them. "I feel that we are living in a culture that has lost a sense of neighborhood," said Paul, who coaches a basketball team at his school while striving to get home as early as possible every day to spend time with his children. "Family life makes up for a lot that we have lost."

The traditional nuclear family—a breadwinning father, a housewifely mother and one or more children—is on the decline in Canada, as it is in most Western societies. Plummeling birth rates and high divorce rates during the past two decades shattered the family stereotypes that prevailed before the 1960s. According to one esti-

mate, only seven per cent of the North American population now lives in the one-class nuclear family unit. Still, 46 per cent of the Canadians polled for Mackenzie's said that family is becoming "a more important" part of their life, while 36 per cent said that family is becoming "much more" important—for a total of 81 per cent. And in answer to another question, 77 per cent said that family is more important to them than money (17 per cent) or religion (five per cent).

These responses reinforce findings in the first Mackenzie/Dennis Poll in 1984. Questions at that time questioned trends toward delayed marriage and child-rearing among the baby-boom generation born after the Second World War. In that 1984 poll, 61 per cent of all respondents rejected the suggestion that marriage would soon be a thing of the past—at a time when polls indicated that more than four times as many Canadians were choosing to live together, unmarried, than in 1971. And 65 per cent of the respondents in 1984 agreed with a separate statement that "in the years ahead, the family will become more important than ever"—at a time when more than one in every three Canadian marriages was ending in divorce. At the same time, more than 80 per cent of urban,



# Commitments to family

## PROFILE

**E**ight years ago, Charles MacKinnon, now 38, was teaching science at a high school, N.S., high school, while his wife, Colleen, also 35, was finishing up a teaching degree at Saint Mary's University across the harbor in Halifax. Colleen was also getting ready to have her first baby. The MacKinnons both felt that an apartment was as close to raising a family. "We wanted a house and to be near our relatives," recalled Colleen. In

June of 1978, the couple pulled up stakes and returned to their native Cape Breton, moving into a house in Charles's old neighborhood in Sydney—just a block from his parents' home. The MacKinnons were among the 81 per cent of respondents to The MacKinnon/Deanna Poll who said that family is becoming more important in their lives. Explaining the decision to return to Cape Breton, Charles told Macdon's, "We moved back for the lifestyle, particularly for the kids."

As a consequence of that move, Charles MacKinnon had to switch occupations. Because a teaching job was not readily available in Sydney, he took a job as quality control manager of Cape Breton Iron-ore Ltd., a local burling company owned by his wife's family for more than 50 years. Colleen chose to stay home with the baby. Now the mother of three children—Owen, 3, Cera, 2, and Kaiti, 1—Colleen has not worked since. "I am a firm believer in raising my own children," she told Macdon's.

Although Charles's \$35,000 annual salary does not enable the family to take southern vacations or to replace their rusted 1978 Chevrolet, they say they are fortunate in an era marked by ambivalence about the family. Said Colleen, "Society has to make a choice and it has not. Do they want mothers to stay at home? If they do, why is it so expensive to raise a family? Or do they want mothers to work, and if they do, why can't they provide affordable day care?" Colleen says that she is also worried about the increasing number of working mothers. "I have a serious fear," she said, "of a backlash from a generation of children who

are raised in day care centres. Are they going to be anti-family? My biggest fear is that when Owen grows up, will he come home with a woman who doesn't want kids because of her experience in day care?"

Like many parents, the MacKinnons do not always agree about how their children should be raised and family values nurtured. It is the only thing, they say, that they quarrel about. Charles, the youngest of two children, says that society's traditional role as the traditional economic provider still, he makes time to be with his family—even if briefly. Said Charles, "Kids make your life a landscape, and that keeps you fresh."

Colleen, the oldest of seven children, grew up in a Sydney home where there were organized family activities. As a child, she spent Sundays playing cards with her family. "It was a ritual and my family was functional," she recalled. Now, she also wants her own children to regard certain activities as family events—a preoccupation that her husband enjoys treating her about. When the five get into the car for a family outing to a fast-food restaurant, he will say "Everybody be happy. We're doing this for Mom."

The MacKinnons had begun to feel that their ideals of family life made them part of a vanishing breed—and they were astonished by the results of The MacKinnon/Deanna Poll, which suggested that the majority of Canadians may actually share their views. Said Charles, "Maybe the pendulum is swinging back." Colleen was less surprised to learn that Atlantic Canadians find family as the priority in their lives. "Maritimers are attached to their families," she said.

Colleen is content to stay at home with her three children, at least until they reach school age. "I asked them if they wanted me to stay home with them even if it meant having fewer toys and they said yes," she said. "It's our contribution to society: a happy family. The world is so crazy that maybe our kids will help make it a better place."



The MacKinnon family's choice is lifestyle for the sake of the children

"People didn't want my dad living in their neighbourhood."



"If you know my dad you'd really like him. I can't understand why people who didn't even know him didn't want him to live in their neighbourhood. It just doesn't make sense to me."

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Actress **Johanna Reiss** says that she professes the comfort of her home means to cold hockey arenas, that the 21-year-old performer from Finland went into the cold for her role in *The Last Season*, a CBC TV movie to be shown on Jan. 4. Reiss stars with Canadiana **Booth Savage**, 37, in the story of a former hockey star struggling to make a comeback as a player-coach in the NHL. "I'd never seen hockey before," Reiss said, "but the producer thought Booth and I had the right sort of chemistry." She filmed her scenes in Helsinki last spring, which she says suited her because leaving Finland would mean "leaving my language, my fans and all the vegetables."

For 35 years actress **Mary Stuart** was a regular on *Search for Tomorrow*, TV's longest-running soap opera, which had its last scheduled show on Dec. 26. She played matrimonial counselor Joanne (Jo) Tarnauer and over the years shared the stage with such performers as **Lee Grant**, **Jim Clayburgh**, **Robby Benson** and **Morgan Perenchio**. Stuart, 57, says that she is now considering several job opportunities on other soaps while enjoying being able to sleep in. "I mean my friends," she added, "but I don't want getting up early. Now I can sleep until seven in the morning."

For Canadian wildlife painter **Robert Bateman**, the retrospective of his work opening on Jan. 13 at the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., is the largest and most important exhibition of his career. Still, the 54-year-old artist is philosophical about the fact that two million visitors are expected to see the exhibit, which runs until the middle of May. Said Bateman: "It's gratifying, but it isn't a thrill of a lifetime. I get my thrills through adventures in wildlife and painting."

About the wide appeal of his work, Bateman said, "You won't get the same crowd as you would for a **Bruce Springsteen** concert, but then again, singer **Boyz n the Moor** has lined up to see me."

**Vivian Albert**, born Charles Spencer, the brother of Princess Diana, is concerned about more criticism from the British media as he begins a new job as London correspondent for Fox TV's *Today* show next week. Some British newspapers already call him "Chatterbox Charlie," claiming that he lives the life of a free-spending playboy.



Reiss, Mary (below): soapopera taken for granted

Althorp, 22, says that he is worried that if he performs poorly he will "be shot down by the media." Today show producers hired him after his live coverage for six of Prince Andrew's wedding to **Sarah Ferguson** last July. Said Althorp: "I've put my head on the line with this job. The guys nervous because a lot of

being left up to me, from choosing up ideas to setting up interviews."

For more than seven years **Dorothy Harris** cultivated a sexy image while she was the lead singer of the now defunct **Blondie**. But when the band broke up in 1983, Harris, 41, stepped performing to care for her longtime boyfriend and **Blondie** lead guitarist, **Chris Stein**, who was severely

depressed with a rare genetic skin disorder. Now promoting a new solo album, *Rocked*, on which a recovered Stein also plays, Harris says that such singers as **Madonna** have "dramatically changed" the music industry for women. "Sex-

ualization used to be a major issue," she said, "but it is taken for granted for granted." Still, Harris departs from her sexy image in her new album with its romantic sound. *Rocked*, she said, "has more that is calculated to be acceptable—a safe, feminine kind of way."

Actress **Shelley Long** has a new role as a chic TV political on-airer in the new series *Designing Women*. From her real-life role as the wife of Ontario Premier **David Peterson**, 12, *Designing Women*, 34, plays an ambitious assistant deputy minister who struggles to run a wasteful federal government department while trying to prevent an oil crisis by opposing its meddling. The half-hour TV pilot, inspired by Madonna's column **Charles Gordon**'s book *The Governor General's Runny Ridge*, may lead to a series next fall. Asked if there is any similarity between

real politics and the TV version, Peterson responded, "David is not the wasteful kind of man who would allow such things to go on, and I'm sure Prime Minister **Jim Mulroney** is the same."

—Edited by TONYE COE



Peterson: playing politics on TV

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# The solution to Canada's tragic 4,000 traffic deaths a year isn't just better cars. It's better drivers.

It was a decade that was killing Canadians at the rate we do on our highways, it would be an epidemic. We would rally, organize, and work to stamp out. But over the years the newspaper images of rusted metal have taken a numbing toll on our minds. Did the picture on the opposite page shock you? Likely not.

And that should tell you just how de-sensitized we've become to the carnage. The statistics should shock us: 4,353 killed on our roads last year, almost 250,000 injured.

Traffic accidents are now the leading cause of death for Canadians under 34. A terrible, useless waste of our young, our future.

Texaco believes, as grim as the facts are, that there is hope. And it starts with the most shocking statistic of all.

85% of all traffic accidents are due to human error. Drivers who make mistakes. Deadly mistakes. But this also means that 85% of traffic accidents are preventable.

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Of the people who get their drivers' licences in Ontario each year, 60% don't have formal training.

If we can put more new drivers on our roads who're more highly trained in the demanding skill of driving a car, we can save lives.

If every new driver was a graduate of a professional driver training program; calm, alert, and well-versed in defensive driving techniques, we could cut our death toll dramatically. Perhaps by as much as a third in the next five years.

Teaching your teenager to drive could be dangerous—because you may unknowingly pass on deadly habits. (Many people who have been driving for years could use re-training courses.)

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Test yourself right now on how good a driver you are:

When a traffic light turns green you step on the gas and proceed with caution. Right? Wrong.

You should always look left, centre, right and left again before proceeding to be certain all traffic has cleared an intersection. (Nearly half of all accidents happen right here.)

If you failed this test, let a professional teach your teenager to drive. And survive.

Texaco is making the reduction of traffic deaths and injuries our cause.

And we're not going to just talk about it, we're going to do something about it.

**A 10% reduction in the cost of professional driver training.**

Starting now, we'll arrange for a 10% reduction in the cost of sending your teenager to Young Drivers of Canada, one of the best driver training programs available.

We'll do the same for older drivers, too.

Our 'Drive to Survive' information kit contains full details on our cost-reduction program, as well as the application that qualifies you for this reduction.

The kit is available by calling toll-free: 1-800-268-4520

Or drop by a nearby Texaco service station and pick one up.

Proper driver training is costly—but there's no comparison with the cost of human lives. That's priceless.

Course fees are federally tax deductible by the student, and there may be substantial insurance reductions which could easily save the initial expense in a very short time.

(You're a driver for life; remember, and accident-free drivers tend to pay less for insurance.)

## Just the beginning.

Texaco will also be taking steps to raise public concern about traffic fatalities and the vital importance of professional driver training in many other ways too.

We want to stop the carnage. And better drivers mean fewer accidents.

It may not stop all the traffic deaths and injuries, but it's a start.

Because the way we see it, our job isn't just to help get your car safely from one place to another, but to help get you and your family there safely, too.

**Let a professional teach them to drive. And survive.**



**DRIVE TO SURVIVE.**



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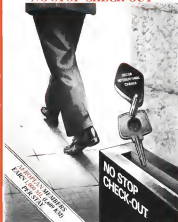
**Here's how professional driver training of young people can cut the toll by almost a third over the next five years. And what Texaco is doing to help.**

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## FOR THE RECORD

## Revolution and romance

CHOPIN: THE COMPLETE ETUDES  
Louis Lortie (piano)  
(Chandos)

With his fiery recording of Chopin's feebly difficult *Rhaps. Montréal's* Louis Lortie has proven himself to be one of the most remarkable young pianists in Canada. Lortie, 27, delivers a bold, theatrical performance that features utterly unassailable playing. In the slower movements, he evokes limpid elegance and restrained nobility, with a calculated absence of syrupy wallowing. Lortie's approach may be too urgent and virile for listeners in love with a nostalgic image of the refined Chopin of Paris salons. But it makes too much sense of the heroic-straining, revolutionary Chopin to be easily dismissed. Not one of the *Rhaps.* comes across as a technical exercise. Instead, they emerge as manifestations of a mark of Chopin's genius—and equally of Lortie's magisterial playing.

RICK TUROPSKY SINGS  
KURT WEILL  
(RCA)

STYLAS KINGS WHILL  
(Newman)

By a cruel twist of timing, Canadian soprano Rita Turofsky has brought out a seldom-recorded Kurt Weill song, only to find it competing with a formidable Weill album by Toronto-born Teresa Stratas. In fact, both singers perform three of the same songs in their collections of the German composer's Berlin, Paris and Broadway material. Turofsky has the lighter voice, yet can match Stratas effectively from pastoral rejection to entombed playfulness. But Stratas, whose vulnerable nightbird voice is particularly suited to Weill's Broadway music, operates at a deeper level. More historic and impassioned, she prowls and claws her way through Weill's sardonic European songs. Cop, bitter, debauch, divine, she keeps listeners on edge with her sleek artistry. Turofsky too often settles for a simple, pleasant approach, further diluted by pianist Doug Riley's overpowering accompaniment. Stratas offers Weill songs as he wrote them: streetwise, seductive and occasionally sublime.

—JOHN PEARCE

# WHY NEWSMAKERS WATCH GLOBAL NEWS



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# When a Good Neighbor forgets

By Stewart MacLeod

Returning from a Washington visit nine 20 years ago, an outgoing Premier Pearson, then prime minister of Canada, contemplated a question about his sometimes fiery ally with President Lyndon Johnson.

He talked at length about personal relationships, struggled a few times, paused for a moment and added this afterthought: "Actually, it's probably not that important. Canada's relationship with the United States is not going to be affected by the personalities of a couple of itinerant politicians." He chorused "We're just the showmen." Pearson was a master at self-deception.

But anyone who has ever posing interest in it to come a phrase—the long-unsundered border in the world must realize this prime minister of the 1960s was only partially engineering. As one who successfully campaigned against John Diefenbaker by promising to improve Canada-U.S. relations, and as one who was later virtually assaulted by a furious Lipson Jackson, Pearson knew whom he spoke.

And as a former Canadian ambassador in Washington, he also knew about things that go on backstage.

But he was neither the first nor last Canadian politician to stomp the scenery in the cause of—and here we coin again—contending the bonds of friendship with the Americans. Sir John A. Macdonald was the first. Brian Mulroney was the last, and in between we had sensitive Social Credit Leader Robert Thompson saying, "The Americans are our best friends whether we like it or not."

However, right now, for the obvious reason of timing, we concentrate on Mulroney. And so, we won't take another shot at the Shamrock Summit and the paralyzing embarrassment of the high-level signing that closed the \$750,000 gala. Sorry I once mentioned it.

But since I did, I suspect there are those private moments when even the Prime Minister surely wonders whether there is a future in shadow. Despite two years of singing, handshaking, backslapping, commitments of eternal friendship and "Call me Ron," there is precious little to suggest we are a band drawn. Matter of fact, it's difficult to

recall a period when so many irritants few across that great extended border. If we throw in the fish fight, we can even go beyond the actual border.

In fairness, we could blame here to point out that irritations between the two countries might not be far worse if anyone but Mulroney were in office. But that being hypothetical, we won't pursue it. And anyway, it was Mulroney who devoted so much of his 1984 election campaign promising to improve relations with the Americans. He stated a stated and repeated commitment "to ensure harmony and co-operation with the United States."

The Americans should love us. Soon after being elected, our Prime Minister went to New York, declared, "Canada is open for business," and set about proving it. Apart from everything else, we've thrown out the National Energy Program, we dismantled the dreaded Foreign Investment Review Act and

***'Canada's relationship with the United States is too complex to be affected by a couple of itinerant politicians'***

we brought in drug patent legislation, long sought by Washington. And now have Americans been treated to more reminders about Canada being their "best friend."

After Pierre Trudeau's resolute restraint in this respect, one would have expected Mulroney's wondrous words and deeds to bring us great papers of gratitude from below the border. But as I thought about what do we have to show for our efforts? Well, and not necessarily in order of importance, we have a smiling little spot over cedar shakes and shingles, with sparrows reaching into cerebellar gaps, vegetable gardens, state parks, fishing grounds and libraries. And just as we try to strike a free trade deal with Washington, American legislators are becoming specialists of protectionism. Enough?

Okay, there have also been persistent reports that the Americans have been playing around in our sovereign Arctic waters with their weakly little submarines. And concerned ministers are less than loquacious when it comes to talking as whether such subs accept

or were granted permission. Something to do with security, they say.

Here's one for you why it is that when a Russian bomber is intercepted by our fighters just off the coast, the defense department claims that every airplane in the country has an eight-hour glow that the next day. But we are not supposed to know whether an American sub, manned by our best friends, visited the Arctic any time in the last two years. Our security is, if nothing else, somewhat selective.

"Hello Ron, we need a new recruiting poster and would we appreciate a photo-op with one of your bombars on the first sunny day, preferably with a thermometer at 90 in the background?"

That disposition mysteriously takes us to the same no-trust-no-money-to-the-credit account, complete with the inevitable "Canadian connection." Just as navigation comes naturally to the Portuguese, we are a nation of inherent connectors. This is the second time for less in just these years, the first being known as a "caper."

But the Americans, perhaps anxious to avoid upsetting their best friends during the Christmas season, kindly kept us in the dark about the latest Canadian connection. For our federal government, not to mention the fledgling, Canadian Security Intelligence Service, it has been a horrendous humiliation.

In the Commons, under persistent opposition questioning, various cabinet ministers had to profess ignorance. And now only gurus have the average politician feels as he/she stands in Parliament to talk about something he/she never heard of. It's far worse than having having no clothes.

Historically, the Liberals and New Democrats have been busy preening their questions with references to Mulroney's "special relationship" with President Reagan. Trouble is, Reagan might have known even less than his best friends. And if he did know, some suggest, chances are he forgot. Here's that for a charming mistake?

There could be a growing problem here for Mulroney in the next two years. Whatever happens in the Iran hearings, the President's stature, and by best, are almost certainly destined to diminish. When this occurs, unfair as it might be, it's invariably best friends who are the first to suffer.

Allen Fockertown on an occasion.

***At McDonald's Dr. Lauri Alto learned that in matters of the heart, diplomacy is everything.***

At 32 years of age, Dr. Lauri Alto is a senior resident in the Pediatrics program at the Wausage Children's Hospital, on his way to becoming a specialist in pediatric cardiology (that is, children's heart problems).

Empathetic, compassionate and articulate, he chose pediatrics because he loves children. "And I love to talk," says Dr. Alto with a wide smile. "Being able to communicate well is a big advantage in medicine. So much of the fun is in talking with the kids and speaking with them and speaking with my family. The people contact is probably where I get most of my satisfaction."

***'At McDonald's, I learned you always have a responsibility to treat people well.'***

During the course of an 80-hour work week, overseeing a ward of 30 or 35 sick children and a team of medical students and interns, strong interpersonal skills are invaluable. Dr. Alto mentions much of this capacity for patience, tact and diplomacy to his five years working part-time at McDonald's. From the age of 15 through 20, his jobs ranged from serving and greeting customers at the counter to



Dr. Alto is serving meals with his

wing to manager and second assistant, when among other responsibilities, he managed my kitchen.

At McDonald's, I learned to be calm and professional in the face of all kinds of situations with all kinds of people. My work as a doctor requires the same skill. On some evenings, I have parents who want to tear their child from the hospital because they say the doctor is never there, that he's always on the golf course that he doesn't care. And I want to desperately to say, "I care!" I work 80 hours a week every week and put in a week you've never seen, but I can't. I know they're upset and under great stress because their loved one is suffering. As a doctor, I must learn to cope with this. It's part of my job."

***'Fun was an integral part of the McDonald's experience.'***

Despite the long hours and the heavy commitments, Dr. Alto looks at the idea that work is his whole life. "My wife Linda, and my two children are everything to me. They're my first priority and I make sure we have fun together."

That's something I learned at McDonald's—the importance of making fun an integral part of your life and work. I had a great time at McDonald's and I made some great friends. I met my closest, dearest friend, Don McGowan, there. He was just man at my wedding."

"McDonald's made a significant impression on me when I was a teenager," says Dr. Alto. "When you're 18 years of age and in a position to affect someone's life, you have to be careful how you deal with them. I learned that you always have a responsibility to



Dr. Alto is here to help us

treat a person well. Experience is everything it's cooked up to be. When you're that young, there's nothing more useful to learn."

***People. Our most important ingredient.***



Stewart MacLeod is Ottawa columnist for Thomson News Service.

# ***Rothmans***



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